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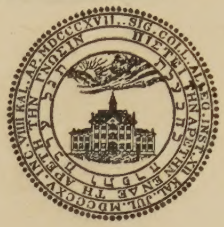

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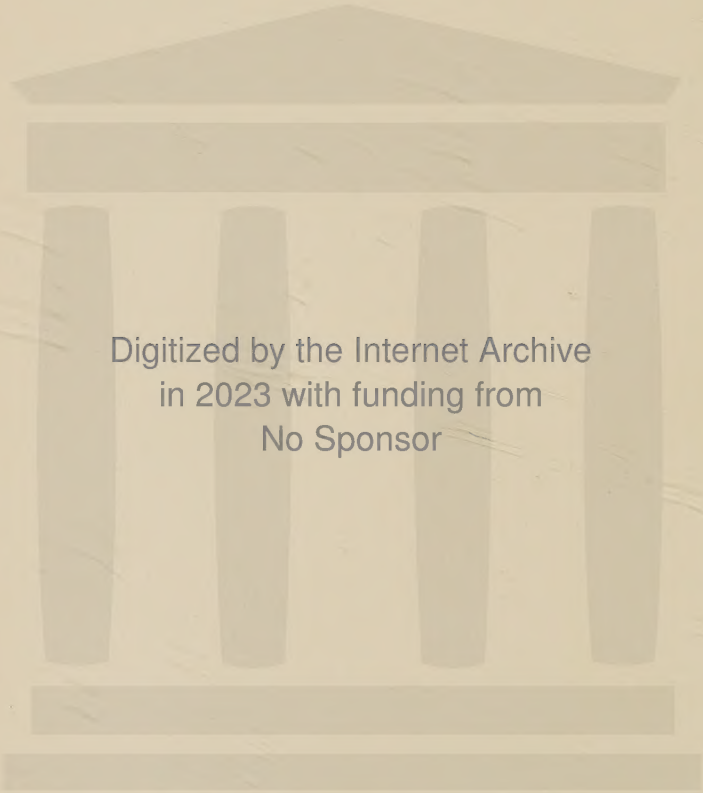
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MODERN THOUGHT AND TRADITIONAL FAITH

BY
GEORGE PRESTON MAINS

NEW YORK: EATON & MAINS
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TO ALL FELLOW-SEEKERS AFTER TRUTH, MEN WHO BELIEVE THAT TRUTH ALONE CONTAINS HIGHEST VALUES, AND WHO EARNESTLY SEEK TO KNOW THE TRUTH THAT THEREBY THEY MAY THE BETTER KNOW GOD, THIS VOLUME IS LOVINGLY INSCRIBED.

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PREFACE

THERE has never been a time in the history of scholarship when Truth for Truth's sake was so earnestly pursued as now. There has never been an age when the scholar was so fully and critically equipped for the ascertainment of Truth as in the present. It is in these convictions that this book is written.

The ground reviewed in this volume is mostly historical, and the greater part of the facts as set forth have long been accepted without challenge. At the risk of appearing quite elemental, I have, in the earlier chapters, traversed a history which to scholars has long been familiar. These chapters, while not exhaustive as discussions, do, I believe, so indicate the character of the mediæval ages, the faith, the science, the political conditions of those ages, as to make sufficiently clear the character of the background from which the modern thought-world has emerged.

Owing to mental habits which are controlling in many minds, and which have been domesticated in traditional thinking, I may not, perhaps, hope, especially in the brief section of the book devoted to the history of biblical criticism, to meet in all cases with sympathetic readers. I can only say, however, that throughout the preparation of this volume I have been infinitely far removed from a desire to disturb the faith of any for the sake simply of so doing.

There are some things, however, which seem to me reasonably certain. If it be true that any minds are

resting in a traditional view, however cherished such view, which does not in itself represent the real truth, the truth for which an enlightened scholarship must stand, then it is far better that such persons should be disturbed rather than that they should remain content in error. Nothing in the last resort is of value, nothing will finally stand, save the truth. A traditional error in religious faith, however ancient its history or respectable its associations, might to-day prove an unmeasured peril to the Christian Church. The educated generation, now so surely coming to the front, is by the very processes of its training largely critical. It may be accepted with absolute certainty that the controlling mind of this generation will not rest in any faith which cannot stand the test of most critical examination. The question of criticism fundamentally is one of immeasurably greater importance than that of disturbing or failing to disturb the favored notions of an unscholarly belief. It is a question of so addressing Christian truth to the high-school and university-bred young life of the present world as to command both their intelligence and their conscience. No generation of mind has been trained in an intellectual atmosphere so fraught with the spirit of scientific research, of philosophical criticism, with a passion for accuracy of knowledge, as that which surrounds the younger life of to-day.

Disturbance of old, and often cherished, views has always been an incident of intellectual progress. It is a part of the price and of the risk which the world has to pay for all its real advances. But such disturbance would better occur a thousand times over than the persistent attempt to bind the Church to views which

the educated mind of the age has not only outgrown, but which it utterly rejects. Where one mind would make shipwreck of faith because of disturbance of inherited views, a score of more valuable minds would pass beyond all control of a Church which would refuse hospitality to what a learned age must accept as the critical and approved findings of truth.

But it is time that another side of this whole question of criticism should be clearly stated and emphasized. There is really no reason, not one, why the faith of the humblest Christian should be in the slightest sense disturbed, no reason why the ardor and devotion of the most simple worshiper should be in any measure cooled or lessened, by the legitimate findings of biblical criticism. As in all fields of research, some minds have doubtless entered viciously into the sphere of this criticism. But as a matter of fact the fruits of biblical criticism as handed over to the Church have been winnowed and gathered by devout, consecrated, and most capable Christian minds. The holy mission of this criticism has been not to destroy, but to upbuild. The summed-up purpose and results of both the textual and literary criticism of the sacred Scriptures have been to give to the world the Bible, the Bible alone, in its purest form. The Bible, in its passage to us from the early Middle Ages, has had foisted upon it many traditional errors and false interpretations. It has been the mission of criticism to free the Bible from these obscuring errors. And so it has resulted that at no time during its history has the Bible as a book been so unincumbered with human traditions, with false interpretations; at no time has it been so pure in its text,

so well known in its literary history and in the chronological order of its books, as at the present. Never before have its spiritual teachings shone so beautifully, and never has the historic Christ stood forth from its pages so impressively, as to-day. The Bible was never so well understood, and never has it had so free opportunity to speak forth its own unmixed and original messages, as to-day.

And all this excellence of result has been secured without the destruction, or even disturbance, of a single vital Christian truth. The Bible remains more intelligibly than ever the record of heaven-inspired messages to men. From cover to cover it is luminous with the revelation of God. The matchless portraiture of the Christ, a creation which it would be impossible for all the intellectual and artistic geniuses of the race to produce, stands forth in clearer and more unquestioned light than ever before. The critical process has not disturbed, much less marred, a single promise or privilege which the older Bible held out to the Christian worshiper. In this record there still stand in untarnished beauty the doctrines of the Fatherhood of God, of redemption and forgiveness of sin through Jesus Christ, and of the witness of the Spirit to pardoning grace and to the blessed and joyful fellowship of sonship in God's family. In this record, as richly as ever, are encouragements to prayer, assurances of helpful and sufficient grace for the Christian's battling life, grace to give patience in trial, victory over temptation, comfort in sorrow, and triumph in death. And, finally, like diamonds of the first brilliancy, set in the very crown of this revelation, there are pressed upon the vision of the saints assur-

ances of a blessed immortality and the inheritances of a heavenly hereafter.

It is high time that the modern critical study of the Bible should be relieved in popular thought from its hobgoblin reputation. The teachers, the trained and competent scholars of the Christian Church, owe this service to the common good. It is with this conviction that I, though among the least of the scholars in Judah, have felt prompted to write this book. The critical movement, while rendering the highest and most indispensable service to Christian truth, has, often through misapprehension, often through ignorant and vicious caricature, been made a stone of stumbling to the common thought. It is a high duty for men in responsible places as teachers in the Christian Church to lift this burden of popular misconception from this most beneficent work.

It seems clear that very much of popular misapprehension and consequent damage to popular faith in revelation might have been avoided if the leading scholars of evangelical denominations had made it their task to set forth clearly and calmly to the world the ascertained results of biblical critical study. Dr. William Sanday, perhaps the foremost authority in New Testament Christology in the world of English scholarship, says: "The theologians ought to carry the nation with them in each step of their own progress; they ought to warn the nation what is coming, and they ought to inform the nation as soon as it has come. It is perhaps true that we theologians have been rather backward in doing this, and that, as a consequence, some things have come to the nation in a more startling form and with a greater degree of seeming novelty than they really possessed."

Frankly, as to my own great denomination, I can but feel that we have not as yet reached a desirable adjustment to the critical movement. That such adjustment will finally come there can, I think, be no question. The ranks of both our ministry and laity are increasingly recruited by university and specially trained minds. Men who have received their schooling and culture at the very seats of critical learning cannot remain ignorant of critical processes, and they will not always remain silent. But thus far there would, I think, be little to justify the claim, if made, that from the official leadership of this Church there has emanated very much to encourage our younger educated minds in cultivating familiarity with modern processes of biblical critical study. It must be admitted by the observant student that, so far as American Methodism is concerned, in its attitude toward the critical movement, it is clearly not abreast with that of the mother Wesleyan Church in England.

This Church, however, in view of the intellectual atmosphere in which it was born, in view of the broad intellectual tolerance of its great founder, in view of the attitude of some of its early and most famous scholars, ought to be among the very foremost of religious bodies to welcome and to encourage a reverent, yet a free, untrammeled, critical investigation in all fields of religious truth.

It is to be feared that many who join in the traditional laudation of Mr. Wesley as the great founder of Methodism fail to share with or to appreciate his own broad-minded toleration. In his Journal of May 18, 1788, he makes this characteristic entry:

"I preached in the evening on, Now abideth faith, hope, love; these three. I subjoined a short account of Methodism, *particularly insisting* on the circumstances,—There is no other religious society under heaven which requires nothing of men in order to their admission into it, but a desire to save their souls. Look all around you, you cannot be admitted into the Church, or society of the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, or any others, unless you hold the same opinions with them, and adhere to the same mode of worship. The Methodists alone do not insist on your holding this or that opinion; but they think and let think. Neither do they impose any particular mode of worship; but you may continue to worship in your former manner, be it what it may. Now, I do not know any other religious society, either ancient or modern, wherein such liberty of conscience is now allowed, or has been allowed, since the age of the apostles. Here is our glorying; and a glorying peculiar to us. What society shares it with us?"

A name held in highest veneration in Methodism is that of Adam Clarke. His Commentary on the Bible was considered in its day a great and most exceptional monument of biblical learning. It represented enormous toil and research. Now, nearly one hundred years since the last volume was written, this work still continues to have a steady sale. But it seems a fact very little known, in popular thought almost undreamed of, that long before the time when literary criticism had become a developed science Adam Clarke was a pioneer in biblical criticism. He may perhaps be justly regarded as the greatest "higher critic" that Methodism has ever produced.

It was from the mental loins of broad, tolerant, and progressive minds like Wesley and Clarke that the intellectual life of early Methodism was generated. Surely, with such an ancestry, the scholarship of modern Methodism ought to be under no suspicion of being a laggard in critical thought, and it ought to be under no trammel in the exercise of a devout freedom in any critical pursuit of knowledge.

Personally, I can have no doubt that Methodism could enter upon no era of its history that would be more unworthy of its origin and mission, that would be more destructive of its real power, that would invite a greater revulsion against itself of the best intellect of the times, than to organize itself into an ecclesiasticism repressive of, not to say menacing to, the spirit of freest intellectual investigation on the part of its teaching faculties, its ministry, and its scholarly laity.

So far as this volume is concerned, none could be more impressed with its fragmentariness than myself. There are many themes which would properly come under its title which I have made no attempt to discuss. Such as it is, however, I am not without hope that the book may serve a useful purpose. It is written in a reverent spirit, with a desire only to serve the truth. The studies out of which it has grown have been to me a source of great illumination and inspiration. The literature traversed for its preparation is, for a large part, elsewhere indicated. In the final revision of my manuscript I am much indebted to the critical suggestions of my friend Dr. R. J. Cooke, official book editor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as also to several other scholars of eminence among us.

The book itself has been forged out of intervals which have come as fragments of leisure in the midst of exacting duties. It has been written mostly in my home library, and in the quiet hours of the early night. In its preparation there has not been the high advantage of continuous opportunity for the task. I now commit it to the public. If I may know that it renders a helpful service to any of its readers, I shall be most happily rewarded for the toil inseparable from its preparation.

New York, February 1, 1911.

INTRODUCTION

To introduce personally to his readers the author of the following work would be, in view of his many years of varied and distinguished service in the Church of God, a wholly superfluous performance. He needs no introduction. Nevertheless, because of his widely extended reputation as pastor, preacher, and successful Church official, enjoying the love and confidence of ministry and laity, it is not superfluous to set clearly before the reader the need and purpose of the thought-compelling volume which this discriminating thinker puts in our hands.

On one occasion in the United States Senate, after a rambling debate, in which the main question was lost sight of, Webster suggested that as a captain after a storm which has obscured the sky for many days first endeavors to find out where he is, so the Senate should endeavor to find its latitude and longitude on the subject before it. It is just such a service which the learned author of this work before us desires to render.

It cannot be denied that criticism, science, and philosophy, all the factors which enter into what is termed Modern Thought, have created much confusion in the minds of many earnest and sincere believers and thinkers inside and outside the Church. They hardly know where they are. In order that the whole situation may be clearly apprehended it is necessary that they should see the past and the present, the wide difference which separates them; the character, purpose, and results of

modern scholarship, and the effect of the whole movement on evangelical faith and the progress of the kingdom of God among men.

To perform this service adequately is a large undertaking. Three essentials are necessary to such a performance: accurate knowledge, a judicial mind, and a vital experience of the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ. The revelation of God presents itself to every age, as it does to the individual, according to the capacity of that age to receive it, and every age, therefore, perceives the truth from a different angle. He is really no scholar at all, no matter what his technical knowledge may be, who thinks wisdom was born in the nineteenth century; who has not gathered up into his own thought the thinking of other ages, for not in vain have earnest thinkers through the centuries served in the temple of the Lord and inquired of him there. How essential it is that between conflicting results of critical investigation one should possess an unbiased mind, free as possible from the distorting influences of personal equation, will appeal at once to our highest reason. And yet, after all, it is, as Neander long since said, the heart that makes the theologian. It is essential that the scholar should be thoroughly grounded in criticism, science, and philosophy, and that he should maintain an intellectual hospitality to new data from every source, but above all it is absolutely essential that he should know Christ in the inner man, that he should know that he has passed from darkness to light through the power of Him who is the culmination of the progressive infallible revelation of God, for as a man thinketh in his heart so is he and of like character will be the product

of his thought. That the author of this volume possesses these requirements will be conceded, and how successfully he has accomplished his task the following weighty pages abundantly testify. His comprehensive résumé of the intellectual status of the dark periods in the history of civilization, reminding us of the brilliant generalizations of Buckle, his clear apprehension of the needs of the present, his unwavering faith in and strong defense of the fundamental truths of the Christian revelation in spite of all that negative criticism may have to say against them, the inspiration of the Bible, the essential divinity of the Lord Jesus, his atonement for the race, miracles, the necessity of the new birth, and in the ultimate victory of the truth of God manifested in redeemed humanity through the power of a living Christ over all forms of sin and error, will commend the work to thoughtful readers who wish to know their bearings and to those who desire to see from the standpoint of a competent scholar to what extent the doctrines dear to the life of every believer are affected by the results of biblical criticism.

In thus recommending the work we do not, of course, indorse as the teachings of the Church every statement of the author, nor commit ourselves to all of his conclusions, especially those relating to the Old Testament. Dr. Mains speaks for himself, and modestly disclaims any intention of speaking for the Church or for any institution. He simply reports the findings of eminent Christian scholars and pleads for tolerance of their views till they are found to be erroneous. With the methods of biblical criticism we may heartily agree, but it does not follow that we must therefore blindly

accept all the supposed results. Certainly we shall not take away infallibility from the Bible and bestow it upon the critics. The history of biblical criticism only too clearly teaches that assured results often change, and it is no reproach to any Church that it does not revise its creed every time a biblical critic changes his opinion. But it is also true that no Christian teacher should dread either the methods or the results of genuine criticism. Biblical criticism is not the enemy, but the friend, of truth. It sifts the essential from the non-essential. The Word of God standeth sure. Dry leaves and withered twigs may be driven by the wind, but the trees of the Lord which are full of sap, the cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted, these will remain.

It only remains to be said that evangelical scholarship, for which this book stands, has no sympathy or alliance with so-called Modernism, or with the program of Modernism. Starting from textual criticism and using the religious-historical method, Modernism may be used, on the theory of doctrinal development as first propounded by Newman, to account for and justify the doctrinal aberrations of the Roman Church, but it is utterly destructive of evangelical faith. Biblical criticism in the hands of evangelical scholars has no more affinity with Abbé Loisy's The Gospel in the Church than it has with the theories of the old Tübingen rationalists; with Tyrrell's Christianity at the Cross Roads than it has with Schmeidel's Ultra-radicalism, or Harnack's Essence of Christianity, which is not Christianity at all but an amorphous incoherency between Unitarianism and Reformed Judaism.

With the author, we can only hope that this work, reverent in spirit, beautiful in simplicity of style, exact in statement of thought, and pervaded all through with the aroma of a living faith in the power of God's inspired Word, may be of the largest possible service.

R. J. Cooke.

THE MIDDLE AGES

Alas! the lofty city! and alas!
The trebly hundred triumphs! and the day
When Brutus made the dagger's edge surpass
The conqueror's sword in bearing fame away!
Alas, for Tully's voice, and Virgil's lay,
And Livy's pictured page! but these shall be
Her resurrection; all beside—decay.
Alas for Earth, for never shall we see
That brightness in her eye she bore when Rome was free.
—Byron.

Nine hundred years after the fall of the Western Empire, in the reign of Pope Martin the Fifth, two of his learned servants, Poggius and a friend, viewing the ancient ruins from the Capitoline Hill, thus moralized: "The hill of the Capitol, on which we sit, was formerly the head of the Roman Empire, the citadel of the earth, the terror of kings; illustrated by the footsteps of so many triumphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes of so many nations. This spectacle of the world, how is it fallen! how changed! how defaced! The path of victory is obliterated by vines, and the benches of the senators are concealed by a dunghill. Cast your eyes on the Palatine Hill, and seek among the shapeless and enormous fragments the marble theater, the obelisks, the colossal statues, the porticoes of Nero's palace; survey the other hills of the city, the vacant space is interrupted only by ruins and gardens. The forum of the Roman people, where they assembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now inclosed for the cultivation of potherbs, or thrown open for the reception of swine and buffaloes. The public and private edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie prostrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs of a mighty giant; and the ruin is the more visible, from the stupendous relics that have survived the injuries of time and fortune."
—Gibbon.

THE MIDDLE AGES

History records no such triumph of intellect over brute-force as that which, in an age of turmoil and battle, was wrested from the fierce warriors of the time by priests who had no material force at their command, and whose power was based alone on the souls and consciences of men. Over soul and conscience their empire was complete. No Christian could hope for salvation who was not in all things an obedient son of the Church, and who was not ready to take up arms in its defense; and, in a time when faith was a determining factor of conduct, this belief created a spiritual despotism which placed all things within reach of him who could wield it.—Lea, *History of the Inquisition.*

CHAPTER I

THE MIDDLE AGES

The term "Modern Thought" implies a distinctive age or era in which the contents of this term must have had their development. It is of interest to inquire what kind of an age it was which preceded that to which we ascribe the birth of modern thought. It has long been the custom of the historian to divide the later centuries into what he is pleased to name the "mediæval" and "modern" periods. The boundaries which mark these periods may not always be easily defined, but they as certainly exist as do the bounds between night and morning.

At some time in the fifth of the Christian centuries there culminated one of the most pregnant events in human history—the fall and dissolution of the Roman empire. This empire, the most potent ever erected by human skill; which had annexed to its scepter the territories of the Western World, extending from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, and from the far North to the Desert of Sahara; an empire whose capital on the Tiber was known as the "Eternal City," which was itself immensely enriched and beautified by spoils of war gathered from all climes, and from whose throne and senate were issued the resistless decrees which governed the world; an empire whose statesmanship evidenced supreme genius for law and order, and whose brain gave birth to systems of jurisprudence which have taken a secure place in the codes of all subsequent

civilizations; an empire whose armies were garrisoned in all cities and whose fleets covered the seas; an empire in which architecture and art, poetry, philosophy, and oratory so flourished as to secure for it for all time to come an imperishable and resplendent renown as the creator and promoter of highest intellectual values—this empire, so vast, so mighty, so laboriously built and buttressed by the warrior, the statesman, and the jurist, fell at last under the stroke of barbarian hordes which had swarmed from the wildernesses of the North; went as helplessly as a disabled ship to its ruin or as might a frail framework built upon the sands before the smiting wrath of an ocean tempest.

The fall of Rome, and that for which it stood, was nothing less than a world-tragedy. Whatever might ultimately ensue, the whole of Western civilization was for the present, and for centuries to come, as by a fatal decree of Providence, smitten into the dust. The central, the organizing and directing seat of the world's government had perished, and there was no power to take its place. The Church had learned largely the secret of Roman authority, and, while the territory of Europe was to be divided into petty and rival kingdoms, and was to fall universally under the vassalage of feudalism, she was the only successor of Rome as asserting and securing for herself a central throne of authority and of spiritual and intellectual sovereignty over the people. In this function the Church was to render in those turbulent ages, and for all the future, a service of unmeasured beneficence.

Had it not been for the authority and the moral inspirations of the Church in this period, it is difficult,

impossible, to imagine what might have been the fate of Europe, and, indeed, of mankind. The Church, as we too well know, was widely far from ideal. It was itself so paganized, so mercenary, so corrupt, that with its strongest hold upon Europe it was not able to rescue the centuries which were to follow from passing into history as the "Dark Ages." The Church, even though she furnished the central bond of authority and the chief moral shepherding of the people, was to give to Europe a control which was more barbaric than civilized, more pagan than Christian.

The Church reared its enormous power over the people on the basis of a well-nigh universal credulity which unquestioningly accepted its teachings, its authority, and its penalties as of divine sanction. Its supreme domination in civil affairs was a matter of slow growth. In its far-reaching organization and unity it had great advantage. On the side of the state, Europe was broken up into small principalities between which there inhered little of unity and much of rivalry. Diplomatically the papal chair for the strengthening of its own position often formed alliances with the more powerful of the secular rulers, and not infrequently such alliances resulted in the subordination of the pope to temporal authority. In the ninth century Charles the Great placed one pope on trial, and in the tenth century Otho the Great deposed two popes, and in their stead placed his own candidates upon the papal throne. The struggle for supremacy between pope and temporal ruler went on with varying fortunes until 1073, when Hildebrand, as Gregory VII, was consecrated pope. He was the dominant man of the age. His ideal was that the Church

should be absolutely free from subjection to secular power. The pope as the successor of Saint Peter was God's first representative on earth, and as such should be absolute sovereign of the Church and the supreme temporal ruler of the world. To the support of this ideal he brought great genius and strength. He introduced drastic reforms against simony and the marriage of the clergy. He forced rulers far and near to swear to him their supreme allegiance. He was the first pope to depose a king. He not only formally deposed Henry IV, the powerful king of Germany, but as a condition of restitution to his throne, compelled him to submit to the most humiliating stipulations. The king, divested of every mark of royalty, garbed in the sackcloth of a penitent, and barefooted, stood in midwinter in the outer court of the castle of Canossa, and thus made formal submission.

Henry's penitence, however, was more diplomatic than real. While in the very guise of submission, he was in his heart plotting vengeance. Through civil war in Germany he was soon able to repossess himself of his throne. Later, he laid siege to Rome, which ended in his receiving the imperial crown. Gregory VII fled from the city, only shortly after to die in exile. He was, nevertheless, one of the supreme minds of the Middle Ages. Endowed with indomitable will, with untiring energy, imperious in temper, fearless in emergency, magnetic in influence, instinctively a leader, he was really the creator of that political Papacy which was afterward to rule the world.

The dream of Hildebrand came to its fulfillment under the reign of Innocent III, who ascended the papal

chair near the close of the twelfth century. Nobly born, possessing every advantage of wealth, and receiving the highest education of his time, he was made pope at the age of thirty-seven. He carried to his place abilities of an imperial order. The conditions throughout Europe were ripe for the advent of a great papal leader. The civil governments were not strongly ruled, and the cry and desire of the people were toward the pope. The Crusades, which had now been in progress for a century, had resulted in vast enrichment to the Church, had greatly enhanced the power of the pope, and had fired the masses with most intense religious enthusiasm.

Innocent III, in the spirit of a master statesman, was prompt to take advantage of all conditions. He first made himself supreme lord of Church and state throughout Italy. He appointed magistrates and judges, took charge of the courts, and personally dictated the conditions of the civil as well as of the ecclesiastical government. He gained for himself recognized leadership over the German empire, and reduced the kings of France, Spain, and even of England to a condition of feudal vassalage to the papal throne. By means of the Crusades he made his authority felt over the Greek Church, and was able himself to appoint the Patriarch of Constantinople, the highest seat of authority in that Church, by his own dictation.

Innocent III died in the midst of his ambitious plans, but he bequeathed to his successors a Papacy in undisputed control of Europe. He left behind him a code of elaborate and coherent principles of sacerdotal government which dominated in both Church and state. Not

only the clergy universally accepted the will of the pope as a supreme law of action and of thought, but Christian princes throughout the Western world acknowledged the successor of Saint Peter as having rightful lordship over them all.

It is well to note specifically some of the leading characteristics of this papal-governed world. In the hands of the pope, as the absolute head of the hierarchy and of civil governments, were lodged fearful powers. In the Church he was the supreme defender of the faith and of the clergy, the censor of morals, the source and the final appeal in all matters of justice. He could convene or disperse councils at will, and could confirm or abrogate their decrees according to his own decision. In civil matters he could issue dispensations modifying or setting aside human laws.

The pope was not only the supreme judge of the faith, but he had unlimited authority to employ agencies for the detection, the correction, and the extirpation of heresy. And the means employed for this purpose are the standing Inferno of history. The Inquisition and its abuses are the infamy of the Middle Ages. The nations of Europe were policed with spiritual detectives, heresy hunters, who finally, for reasons most trivial and often most vilely mercenary, were only too ready to accuse even the innocent of holding views that were treasonable against the spiritual government. Under the high pretext of keeping the Church pure, the inquisitor laid far greater emphasis upon dogma than upon character. One might be morally dissolute and pass unchallenged; but if he were suspected of being a free-thinker, or of holding unsound views, he was at once

a fit subject for the rack or for the stake. Thus, under the fearful enginery of the Church, the spirit of free investigation was everywhere terrorized and strangled. It was a fatal sin for one to hold independent opinions of his own. In the infliction of penalty the Church employed the arm of secular power; it being itself too holy to stain its own hands with blood, found it most convenient to employ as its jailer and its executioner its servile instrument, the civil government.

The real terror of the Inquisition as wielded is indescribable. Its agents became at once the accusers and the judges of its victims. It instituted crusades of extermination against the Albigenses and the Waldenses. It planted the Lowlands with stakes and deluged them with blood. It was its spirit which in France finally instigated the massacre of Saint Bartholomew. In Spain, under the single administration of Torquemada, nearly nine thousand people were condemned to the flames, six thousand five hundred were burned in effigy, and more than ninety thousand were subjected to various penalties. This relentless cruelty against human life and reason spread itself as far north as Scandinavia and the British Isles, and its scourge overran the lands of Germany and Italy. It became the instrument of insatiate greed, serving vastly to enrich the Church. Its persecutions enforced the migration of the rich Jews and Moslems from Spain, their properties being confiscated as revenues to the papal treasury, thus depopulating whole towns and provinces and putting a blight upon the commercial prosperity of the nation. The Inquisition spared nobody. Like a creeping plague it became a terror alike to princes and to the most power-

ful dignitaries of the Church. It assassinated the intellectual life of Europe. It condemned Roger Bacon as a magician and sent him to prison; it arrested Galileo and forced his recantation of the truth; it murdered Giordano Bruno, and burned Huss and Wycliffe at the stake.

The Inquisition established an "Index Expurgatorius" against literature. It was as careful to destroy heretical books as it was to burn their authors. It early discovered that the Bible was a dangerous book to be in the hands of the people, and its circulation was forbidden. As late as 1558 Philip II denounced the penalty of death upon any of his subjects who should be found even to possess a book forbidden by the Inquisition.

The power of excommunication was another fearful instrument in the hands of the pope. He could absolutely shut the doors of the kingdom of heaven against any offending soul. The man excommunicated was to be regarded as a social and moral outlaw, one without religious or civil rights, whose property might be confiscated; and perdition everlasting was his certain doom unless through his abject repentance the Church should mercifully restore him to favor. The authority to excommunicate was used by the bishop within his diocese as well as by the pope for the Church at large.

The interdict was a decree issued against a given territory, whether a city or an entire kingdom, for the purpose of forcing that territory or its ruler to submission. The interdict during its force practically put a stop to the functions of civil government, and the superstitious were made to feel that the very province which they inhabited was under the blight of a divine curse.

It is needless to say that the tremendous power of excommunication and of the interdict were often most absurdly and viciously exercised. It is a matter of record that letters conferring the power of excommunication were sold for money, and the authority itself was often used for humiliating a rival or for purposes of extortion.

The papal hierarchy was, in general, composed of cardinals, primates, bishops, and priests. The cardinals ranked next to the pope, and were supposed to be his direct advisers. The primates were in charge of what might be called the court or national churches. It was their function to preside over state councils of the Church, over the higher ecclesiastical courts, to confirm the election of bishops and archbishops within their territory, to perform the coronation of kings and queens, and, in general, as the pope's representatives, to direct the interests of the Church within their respective states. The archbishops presided over territories each of which included several bishops. They superintended the election and consecration of bishops, called and presided over synods, heard appeals from the lower episcopal courts, and exercised a general supervision of the Church within their respective districts.

The bishop was simply a lesser pope within his diocese, exercising the powers of a sovereign over priests and people. While supervising the churches of his diocese, he had his own distinct church, the cathedral, which was usually the largest and most beautiful edifice in the diocese. He was regarded as a direct successor of the apostles, and his authority applied to nearly all questions of interest to the community. By virtue of

landed grants placed at the disposal of his office he was vested with all the rights of a feudal lord, and thus he became a potent factor in secular as well as in ecclesiastical affairs.

No authority in the Church, however, from the pope down to the last bishop, so far as direct power over the people was concerned, wielded such influence as the priest within the circle of his parish. He alone came in direct contact with the masses. He performed all the rites and duties of the parish minister, absolving, baptizing, marrying, and burying the people. The sacraments, which were the instruments of salvation, he could withhold or administer at his own option; thus he held in his hand the destiny of the very souls of men. Presiding over the auricular confession, he was the recipient of the most secret confidences of his parishioners, deciding their very consciences and conduct, the personal dispenser of their eternal salvation. Separated by the sacred and mysterious rites and authority of ordination, living the life of a celibate with no bride save the Church, to which he gave himself in supreme devotion, he moved among the people as a shepherd sent from God, at once their protector and guide, yet at the same time carrying at his girdle the keys by which he might shut against them the very gates of heaven. It is difficult to conceive of any relation that would appeal more potently to the hopes and fears, to the interests and motives of the human soul than that of the parish priest of the Middle Ages. He held a position which even princes might envy. He was as one who stood in the very place of God.

If now we remind ourselves that all ranks of the

hierarchy, from the pope to the parish priest, were not only invested with the sanctions of divine authority, but had absolutely at command in their respective spheres the laws, the courts, the agencies and instruments of penalty against the transgressor, that the secular arm of the state was always ready to wield the sword in obedience to the demand of the Church, then we are prepared to realize in some vivid measure how absolute was the despotism, and how terrible for good or evil was the rule of the Church over the human mind.

These were ages of barbaric habits and cruel ideals. The Church itself was dominated by a spirit of despotic intolerance. The great masses of the people were densely ignorant. The priesthood in all ranks was in great numbers immoral, mercenary, unscrupulous, ravening wolves in sheep's clothing, wholly unfit in personal character to be ministers and leaders in holy things. Still, it is impossible to overstate the values of the solidarity and the conceded authority of the Church rule over those turbulent ages. The territory of the Roman empire, in which the reign of law was felt and respected to its uttermost bounds, was broken into rival and petty sections in which the spirit of the freebooter was largely abroad; and so far as civil rule was concerned, if this had been all, whole lands might have been swallowed up in the confusion and ruin of anarchy. But in such an age as this the Church, lifting her scepter above all civil powers, and girt with the authority of omnipotence, impressing kings and subjects alike that she was the dispenser of both the vengeance and mercy of heaven, put a sway over the barbarous

and superstitious masses which was at once both terrible and beneficent.

The Church as a theocratic organism gathered under her own scepter the territories coextensive with those of the former empire, and throughout all the diversified peoples of Europe she inspired and maintained a fear of her authority such as was never exceeded by the awe of the empire in the days of its most imperial sway.

It is to be said to the credit of this Church, bad as it was, that, through long ages otherwise dark and barbarous, she made herself beneficently felt as the fountain of the best law, order, and justice; the expounder of highest civil rights and best social virtues; the most perfect promoter of domestic purity and of family piety; the greatest inspirer of charitable deeds known to that benighted world. Poor in general as were her spiritual life and moral example, there was no period in which she did not develop eminent examples of saint-hood, and, however dark the age, in some of her exceptional cloisters, at least, the lamp of human learning was never permitted to grow dim.

In this preliminary chapter I have given much space to consideration of the Church. There can be no intelligent view of the Middle Ages, especially of the later period, without an understanding of the relations of the Church to the entire situation. It should not be assumed that even in these later times the authority of the Church went everywhere unchallenged. The drastic and widespread measures adopted for the extirpation of heresy, for the suppression of the freedom of thought, themselves witness eloquently to a wide and persistent protest which uttered itself against the intol-

erance of her rule. Even then there was a growing sense of individuality. Very many with awakening intellects were in an attitude of skepticism, of irreverence and mental independence toward the claims of the Papacy.

The standards of education as compared with those of the present day were at the best relatively poor and fruitless. The masses grossly illiterate, their religious teachers for the most part intellectual bigots, there was, and could be, no such fact as a general education among the people. The theological training of the priest did not necessarily require more than that he should be able to construe his breviary, read a little Latin, and be able to say mass. The arts and the sciences, such as they were, had either fallen into desuetude or were little cultivated. Yet it remained true that the universities scattered over Europe furnished centers in which was kept alive the spirit of scholarly investigation. Their scribes were making copies of, and were translating into their own thought, the choicest classical productions of the Greek and Roman ages. And there was in this, and in the kindred pursuits of these scholars, a large measure of intellectual emancipation which not only voiced itself in these centers of learning, but which like a leaven was destined in time to pervade widely the thought of the people. In these universities there was cultivated that spirit of research and of mental independence which was the sure foretokening of a new era of intellectual enlightenment and spiritual liberty for mankind.

In material conditions, while the Church was enormously rich, literally owning so much of Europe as to make her the mightiest secular power in the world,

and while her privileged sons vied with the most powerful princes in luxurious living, the conditions which enveloped the people were crude and barbarous. The splendid military roads and public improvements of the empire had fallen into disuse. In these ages there were no public libraries, no enlightening press, no vehicles of rapid intelligence as between peoples. The masses were treated as vassals; their highest duty was that of unquestioning submission to the Church and of supreme obedience to their feudal masters. The world of that day, with the most ameliorating light which we may throw upon it, was indeed dark, cruel, barbaric.

Yet it was from the background of such a world as this that the new and modern age—an age whose intellectual light is as the noonday, and whose spiritual liberty is that of the sons of God—was to emerge.

THE RENAISSANCE

The metaphor of Renaissance may signify the entrance of the European nations upon a fresh stage of vital energy in general, implying a fuller consciousness and a freer exercise of faculties than had belonged to the mediæval period. . . . The Revival of Learning must be regarded as a function of that vital energy, an organ of that mental evolution, which brought the modern world, with its new conceptions of philosophy and religion, its reawakened arts and sciences, its firmer grasp on the realities of human nature and the world, its manifold inventions and discoveries, its altered political systems, its expansive and progressive forces, into being. . . . It is, therefore, obvious that some term, wider than Revival of Learning, descriptive of the change which began to pass over Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, has to be adopted. That of Renaissance, Renascimento, or Renascence, is sufficient for the purpose, though we have to guard against the tyranny of what is, after all, a metaphor. We must not suffer it to lead us into rhetoric about the deadness and darkness of the Middle Ages, or hamper our inquiry with preconceived assumptions that the rebirth in question was in any true sense a return to the irrecoverable pagan past. Nor must we imagine that there was any abrupt break with the Middle Ages. On the contrary, the Renaissance was rather the last stage of the Middle Ages, emerging from ecclesiastical and feudal despotism, developing what was original in mediæval ideas by the light of classic arts and letters, holding in itself the promise of the Modern World. It was, therefore, a period and a process of transition, fusion, preparation, tentative endeavor. And just at this point the real importance of the Revival of Learning may be indicated. That rediscovery of the classic past restored the confidence in their own faculties to men striving after spiritual freedom; revealed the continuity of history and the identity of human nature in spite of diverse creeds and different customs; held up for emulation master works of literature, philosophy, and art; provoked inquiry; encouraged criticism; shattered the narrow mental barriers imposed by mediæval orthodoxy.—J. A. Symonds.

CHAPTER II

THE RENAISSANCE

The term "Renaissance" means literally a new birth. It has come to be historically used as designating the period or processes through which the modern order was evolved from conditions mediæval. It has been common to make it a synonym for that great intellectual movement which characterized the morning of modern history, namely, the revival throughout Europe of classical learning. It should include all this; but strictly the term, if it shall be used to cover the period and movements through which modern history had its birth, must be made to mean much more than simply a revival of ancient learning, however significant such a revival in itself. It must be so enlarged as to cover the birth of entirely new conceptions of civilization, of new ideas of both Church and state, of a newly awakened sense of man's individual worth, of the growing respect which the individual came to entertain as to the validity of his own intellectual processes, and, in matters of conduct, of his privilege to obey his own conscience rather than submit himself unthinkingly to the demands of a theological despotism.

The Renaissance meant the advent of radically new ideas concerning both the government and the individual, ideas which to the mediæval mind would have seemed treasonable as against a divine order. In government the dominant thought of the Middle Ages was that of a "Holy Roman Empire" under the sway of an indivisible

Church. Under the newborn order the institutions of feudalism were either to become extinct, or were to become remodeled and absorbed into the functions of a larger statehood. It was the beginning of an era which was to witness for Western civilizations the establishment of broad and stable governments which should be ministered largely in independence of ecclesiastical domination.

So far as the individual was concerned, in the most vital things of life and destiny he had no primary right to either independence of thought or of conscience. An overshadowing and inquisitorial ecclesiasticism had so far assumed the functions of both as to make the individual a mere automaton in its hands. In the period of the Renaissance a new spirit was born under whose touch the mediæval Church was shorn forever of its absolute despotism over human thought, and under the inspirations of which the individual was to awaken to a sense of his independent values and to his sovereign right freely to exercise his own reason and conscience.

The period was not only characterized by a wide revival of classical learning, by the birth of new and great ideas concerning the functions of government and the intellectual and moral rights of man; but it was also signalized in a marvelous way by new discoveries and inventions which were to prove mighty factors in giving a new direction to history and a new character to civilization.

It will be profitable briefly to indicate and review some of the distinctive features of this era of transition. In speaking of the revival of learning as a chief feature of the Renaissance, it must be borne in mind that the

rise of this movement was by no means simultaneous in all the lands which it finally affected. The Italian soil, as if made vernal by its southern sun, was the first on which enthusiasm for the new learning was to become a popular fashion. The Italian was the lineal descendant of the ancient Roman, the Roman who was at once the inheritor of Grecian culture and of an age which was both classical and golden in his own land. The Italian mind was precocious, and it seems but natural that its susceptibilities should be first to respond to the newly awakened sense of intellectual freedom.

The capture of Constantinople by the Turk in 1453 resulted in the migration of many Grecian scholars to the cities of Western Europe. This fact contributed greatly to the attainment of Grecian scholarship, and its pursuit was eagerly coupled with that of the Latin classics by Italian students. The desire for classical learning was pervasive. The rediscovery and new-found possession of the exhaustless treasures of ancient thought awakened a new sense of human values. Ages that were called pagan, and which were utter strangers to that kind of ecclesiastical censorship which for centuries had held Europe in its thrall, were newly opened to view, and they were found to be vocal with the wisdom and song of genius, rich in products of a matchless art. The ancient learning thus reproduced did not carry the mind much away from the life of earth; its rhapsodies were not inspired by monkish visions of some unknown and inaccessible heaven. It emphasized the life that now is, magnified its pleasures, and irresistibly lured its lovers into realms rich in intellectual and æsthetic delights.

The result of the new nurture was to beget a temper the very opposite of that servile type which the repressive tyranny of the Church had bred in the popular mind, a temper which has been well expressed by the word "humanism." Humanism meant the reclaiming for man of the values of the present world, a rediscovery of the fruitfulness and dignity of the human intellect in connection with the things of time, the reappropriation of the earth and its treasures for human uses and enjoyment.

In the meantime Italy had become the schoolmaster of Europe in all departments of polite learning. Scholars of all nations flocked to her schools. In literature the best classical models were earnestly studied, and they lent themselves to the creation of new intellectual tastes and standards. This revival of ancient learning was accompanied by great awakening of the sense of things beautiful in nature. It was this period which produced many of the great masters in painting, in sculpture, in architecture. It was the age of Raphael, of Da Vinci, of Titian, of Michael Angelo, of Brunelleschi and Donatello. In Italy the Renaissance especially wrought itself out through a wide revival of classical learning, through the awakening of immortal art, all of which tended to beget in the popular mind a love of things purely temporal coupled with a wide indifference to the higher claims of the spiritual. The spirit of humanism wrought reactions both in the Church and in general thought which in the end, whatever the intellectual illumination of the times or the outward show of refinement, were accompanied by a moral laxity of society second only to that which centuries earlier had prepared the dissolution of the empire.

In the north of Europe, in Germany, in the Lowlands, in France, and in England, the Renaissance entered, though much later in the order of time, to work out far different results than in Italy. Spain, of all countries north of the Alps, was least molded by the new spirit, because here, more than in any other country of Europe, the reign of the Inquisition persisted. France was doubtless more than any other state the recipient of the direct overflow and influence of Italian culture. In Germany the revival of learning, while represented by great secular scholarship, was characterized by a moral earnestness which finally found its irresistible expression in the Reformation, a movement which, far more than any which had preceded it, meant the intellectual and spiritual emancipation of northern Europe. The influence of the Reformation, under quite diverse types, wrought the most powerful changes in intellect and faith not only in Germany, but throughout Switzerland, France, and the Lowlands.

England, separated from the continent, was the last to receive and to be benefited by the Renaissant revival. To this country the movement brought both a great religious reformation and a marvelous birth of intellectual life. From the one was born the Protestant Church of England, and afterward Puritanism. From the other there finally sprang one of the most resplendent eras in the intellectual history of the modern world—the age of Elizabethan letters.

The general effect upon Europe and the world of the renaissance of learning in these centuries cannot be stated in a single term. It meant not simply a widely awakened taste for and a repossession of ancient

learning; it meant also a departure of the human mind in the direction of new conquests, in the pursuit of new discoveries. It meant the birth of new civilizations, of new faiths, of new philosophies, the summoning to life of the spirit of creative invention, the advent of a new and unprecedented era of arts and industries, an indefinite enlargement upon human vision of the universe itself.

In the same general period several great events occurred which were the indispensable auxiliaries to the new awakening of mind. Two events of inseparable and immeasurable importance were the manufacture of paper and the invention of printing. The art of paper-making in a simple form seems to have been known by the Chinese even before the Christian era. Paper was somewhat extensively used by the Arabs as early as the eighth century, but its manufacture for general use cannot be said to have been introduced into Europe before the fourteenth century. The origin of printing as a practical art is more or less wrapped in obscurity. It is clear that it did not yield much utility before the latter part of the fifteenth century.

The origin of gunpowder, though an invention of incalculable consequence to civilization, is another event hidden in obscurity. Its introduction into Europe as an agency of warfare may be dated in the fourteenth century. The mariner's compass, as the invention of paper, originated with the Chinese; but its acquisition by the European navigator in the fifteenth century was an event of greatest importance. From thence it was to play a most signal part in giving to man a mastery of the seas. It was in this period that the first really great voyages of exploration were made—

that by which Columbus discovered America, the rounding of the Cape by Diaz, and the finding of a sea-passage to India by Vasco da Gama.

The events thus briefly noted are in their consequences to be reckoned among the most momentous in history. The combined arts of paper-making and of printing were to revolutionize the entire appliances of education, to destroy all star-chamber and priestly monopoly of the things of the intellect, and ultimately to make accessible to a universal democracy all the fruits of human learning. The introduction of gunpowder was not only utterly to change the methods of warfare, to place in the hands of civilization a weapon against which barbaric invasions could be broken and repelled, but it was the most important step in the evolution of those terrific armaments and navies the appalling possibilities of which as agencies of destruction go far to-day toward preserving a perpetual truce of peace among the nations of the earth.

It is impossible to measure the historic consequences which were to ensue from the new conquest of the seas. This all meant not simply an immense widening of man's vision of the world, the substitution by commerce of the oceans in place of a single inland sea, the removal of the mercantile supremacy of Europe from Italy to nations bordering on the Atlantic: it meant the introduction of a new era of world-wide intercourse between the nations of mankind. The passage to India was an initial and prophetic movement in the great drama of governmental, commercial, and philosophic interest as enacted between the Orient and the civilizations of Europe in the last four centuries.

The discovery of America in the very morning of the modern world was an event fraught with supreme significance. It was like the opening up in the fullness of time of a rich heritage which Providence had held in reservation for a privileged age. The long and painful agitations and travail of European thought had given birth to ideas which held in themselves the material for new charters of human rights; for new systems of government which should not be erected on the basis of the divine right of kings, but on the sovereignty of citizenship; for a free Church in which there should be recognition of the sacredness both of the conscience and reason of the individual worshiper. But in Europe, great as may have been the movement of mind, many and valuable as may have been the reforms wrought, there was no room for the successful trial of these great departures. Her territories were too much under the thrall of hereditary ideas; they who had the power to control her policies both in state and Church were themselves so much under the dominion of tradition, and so little inspired by the vision of the seer, as to make it impracticable that anywhere within her bounds should be furnished an adequate theater for the working out of these new and needed programs of civilization.

America now arose from behind the oceans as a veritable world of promise. On her virgin soil and in her free atmosphere there would be abundant opportunity for the realization of the ideas of liberty which had been born through the tribulations and in the dreams of the world's most prophetic minds. The day of great democracies was about to dawn in history. America

was the only land in which these institutions could be successfully planted and their ideals fairly tried.

Our brief and partial survey of the period of the Renaissance has revealed many new ideas and forces which have entered as factors into the making of the modern world. The fact of nationality, and the distinct part which the individual nation was to play in influencing a general scheme of civilization, were ideas which had their development in this period of European history as never before. From the same background of thought there arose newly born the conception of the values of the individual. The value of the nation is finally to be estimated by the strength and worth of the individuals who are responsible for directing its life. We have noted some of the influences which contributed to this result; but the worth of man as man, a sense of his intellectual possibilities, of his value as a distinct constituent in the social organism, of the sacredness of his life and rights—all of this received in this period a development hitherto unrealized. This period repossessed itself with marvelous alertness of intellectual treasures which for centuries had been practically lost to the world. A great wealth of ancient learning, as if recovered from its tomb, came back into possession of the human mind. All this brought with it a quickening of thought, an inspiration and broadening of vision, out of which were to be born new literatures, new inventions, and the fruitful impulses of a new and universal progress for mankind.

Wonderful inventions and the daring spirit of exploration combined not simply to give man command of great new forces, but to place in his hands the titles

of new continents as the seats of future empire and of coming civilizations. Crowning all, the Reformation wrought a vast emancipation of the conscience from ecclesiastical tyranny and imparted an immense moral energy to the human mind throughout Europe.

But conspicuously, even if indefinably, there entered into all these movements, as their very animating soul, a new creative spirit which, not less certainly than that which brooded over ancient chaos, and which more, perhaps, than any of the visible agencies which we may define, was to develop from the turbulent and diverse conditions of the times the new order of the modern world. No contrast can be more significant than that which is presented between the sixteenth and the twelfth centuries. We know, and can trace, many of the forces which wrought in this eventful field of history. But it remains that we must still acquaint ourselves with many underlying movements before we can truly appreciate that intellectual world known as "Modern Thought."

SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION

The recent excavation of the tombs of the Nile kings, and of the great cities of the Syrian plains, reveal a people at a high stage of civilization, five and perhaps seven or ten thousand years before our era. Their temples, their palaces, their libraries, their sculpture, their jewelry, their sanitary and plumbing arrangements even, tell that this remote day must have been but as yesterday compared with the distant time when troglodyte man left his bones, his weapons and instruments of flint, by the side of the remains of animals now in part extinct, in the caves wherein he dwelt.—Carl Snyder.

The idea of evolution, like the true conception of language and grammar, took shape outside the field of biblical study. Yet the biblical doctrine of the kingdom of God is one of the main causes of the conception; for evolution was a social programme before it became a scientific hypothesis. The idea is not a trespasser upon the biblical field.—Professor Henry S. Nash.

There are types of minds to which the idea of necessity brings a vague shudder, as at the closing of iron gates. At each great step in the development of our world-conceptions these emotional natures are stirred to revolt or fright. But if the larger knowledge seems to subtract alike from the individual and the race something of their old importance, we need not forget that this knowledge is *ours*, and has been dug out by the race itself. Perhaps this is the true wonder. In any event, let us not lose sight of the grandeur of the achievement; for in it the intellect of man has in some cases turned round upon its antecedents and the universe of which it is corporeally so infinitely slight a part.—Carl Snyder.

CHAPTER III

SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION

COLUMBUS was the discoverer of a new world. Luther was the apostle of a new liberty.

The one was a prophet of the unknown. A trained admiral of the seas, he had a conviction that the world was a sphere, and that behind Western seas other lands were awaiting discovery. Inspired by this conviction, neither popular incredulity, ridicule, nor finally the spirit of savage mutiny could daunt his purpose. In a faith that made him invincible he aimed the prows of a forlorn little fleet into unknown waters, and, steadfast to his purpose, even when his ears were greeted by the murmurs of his suspicious and hostile crews, he sailed on and on till one day his anchors were cast on the shores of a new continent. That day might well be chosen as marking the real advent of modern history.

The vision of the other, as in a lightning flash of inspiration, had come to see one of God's great truths, a truth carrying in itself a divine charter liberating the human conscience from the tyranny of error and of unholy priestcraft. The crucial scene is thus described by Carlyle: "The young emperor, Charles V, with all the princes of Germany, papal nuncios, dignitaries spiritual and temporal, are assembled there: Luther is to appear and answer for himself, whether he will recant or not. The world's pomp and power sits there on this hand; on that stands up for God's truth one man, the poor miner, Hans Luther's son. . . . Luther said to

the pope, 'This thing of yours that you call a pardon for sins, it is a bit of rag-paper with ink. It is nothing else. God alone can pardon sins. Popeship, spiritual Fatherhood of God's Church, is that a vain semblance, of cloth and parchment? It is an awful fact. God's Church is not a semblance. Heaven and hell are not semblances. I stand on this, since you drive me to it. Standing on this, I a poor German monk am stronger than you all. I stand solitary, friendless, but on God's truth; you with your tiaras, triple-hats, with your treasuries and armories, thunders spiritual and temporal, stand on the Devil's lie, and are not so strong!' "

And thus was the humble monk of Erfurt, in a supreme psychological moment in history, the mouthpiece of a new emancipation for the human conscience and reason.

The two incidents—the one of Columbus in the name of his sovereign taking possession of a new world; the other of Luther at the Diet of Worms standing alone in the presence of a world-ruling hierarchy to announce a new spiritual liberty for mankind—may be selected as fitting antitypes of the greatest, the richest, the most inspirational and prophetic inheritance which has yet come to the race: the world of modern thought. From the days of these great leaders the human mind has been in a constant and intensifying mood of exploration, in a mood to invade all accessible fields of knowledge; and less and less has this mood been satisfied with the mere decisions of councils or the dictates of official authority. The spirit of modern research is not greatly reverent of any mere tradition, however hoary its history. It is satisfied with nothing short of the

truth, of all truth attainable. It seeks this truth from first sources. It searches the skies with a telescope and the solar spectrum; the earth with the microscope and chemical analysis. It values truth as nothing else, and for the truth will accept no substitutes.

The world of modern thought as a superstructure rests upon foundations laid by supreme master-builders. It should be accepted without the saying that into this structure there has been freely wrought all material of truth which has descended from the past. It should be assumed by none that a slighting estimate can be put upon this inheritance. In quality of mind the ancient ages produced thinkers as keen-sighted and noble as any who have ever lived. In the realm of abstract thought Plato, the pagan, is without a peer among human thinkers. As teachers and exemplars in the spheres of moral insight, of holy worship, of righteousness, and of lofty and commanding views of God, history pays supreme honor to the Hebrew prophets and to the long succession of Christian apostles and martyrs.

So far as ancient thought is concerned, its inheritance is priceless. It has, however, been largely the function and the glory of the modern mind to reinvestigate all ancient thinking, to retranslate it into terms of present-day knowledge, so that, in distinction from all learning strictly modern, the scholarship of the present age has a better command of ancient literatures, religions, philosophies, and sciences than was ever before known. To use as an illustration the Bible: it is safe to say that its entire history, the atmosphere and environment in which its different books were written, the varied pur-

poses for which the books were composed, the chronological order of their appearance, the sources of their substance, their authority and the genuineness of their authorship—all this, and immeasurably more—is far better ascertained by present-day scholarship than was ever before possible. So much, in passing, as a just recognition of both the ancient thinker and the modern scholar.

I now pass to a brief review of some of the more prominent of the creative agencies which underlie the distinctive world of modern thought. It may be said that these agencies are all of them scientific in their character.

A fact of the first order of importance in the education of the modern world is that which brought to the human mind an apprehension of the infinite dimensions of the physical universe in which we dwell. Near the middle of the sixteenth century Copernicus, a German educated for the priesthood, wrote a book which was destined to create a radical revolution and a new era in the science of astronomy. In opposition to the geocentric theory of the Ptolemaic philosophy, a philosophy which had held sway in the learned world for fourteen centuries, he proclaimed the heliocentric character of the solar system. In due order Galileo with his telescope came forward to lend powerful confirmation to the theory of Copernicus. There follow in succession the illustrious names of Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Newton. Brahe demonstrated as never before the relative positions and movements of the planets. Kepler, by processes of incredible toil, so mastered the laws of planetary movements as to secure for himself historic title as the "Great Legislator of the Starry Heavens." It was

left for Newton not only in his integral calculus to furnish a system by which the intricate and complex movements of the heavenly bodies could be reduced to accurate mathematical statement, but there remained for his later life the greater glory of developing the theory of universal gravitation. This theory, in its far-reaching consequences, has been fittingly characterized as probably "the most important single discovery in the history of science." It not only reveals the principles which decide the relative positions and movements of the heavenly bodies, but it furnishes the foundation on which rests the greatest of scientific generalizations—the unity of the universe.

It is not necessary at this point to pursue this fascinating subject further, save to say that the Copernican astronomy has served to multiply upon human conception by infinite measurements the dimensions of the physical universe.

Another great movement of modern thought, one in every way worthy to keep company with that which has so enlarged our conceptions of astronomy, is that which furnishes demonstration of the immeasurable time through which the worlds have existed. The nebular theory of Laplace asserts that originally the vast space now occupied by the solar system was filled with a diffused and heated gas, from the consolidations of which, under the movements of gravity, the present solar universe was formed. The process of the condensation out of which was finally evolved the present order required for its consummation indefinite ages. The least that can be said of this theory is that it was a daring flight of the scientific imagination. But the

real thing to be said is that the scientific world generally accepts this theory or one that is tantamount to the same. What is more, this hypothesis of Laplace is found to be only a single factor in a philosophy of development under which the modern scientific mind seeks to define and measure cosmic processes.

It may be said that in the closing years of the eighteenth century geology fairly took its place of recognition in the family of sciences. But who shall portray to us the consternations, the mental agues, the hysteria of emotion, which arose among the fearful as this young science pursued its triumphal course? It is enough to say that no sane man of to-day calls in question the legitimacy of geologic science or the validity of its findings. But geology requires a scheme of earth-making which dates back for its origin untold ages. It tells us that man himself, though comparatively of late origin, has been a dweller upon the earth for a very long period of time. And this program for the world and man science accepts with unhesitating confidence.

In the year 1882 the most epoch-making mind of the nineteenth century ceased its earthly activities—Charles Darwin. Twenty-three years earlier he had published a book, The Origin of Species, which, like a great plowshare, was to bury much of the vegetation of current philosophies under the ground. Personally he was one of the most lovable of men. While scientifically one of the best furnished minds that ever entered upon a great work of investigation, he was always shrinkingly modest in his estimate of himself. He never took pleasure in disturbing the religious or scientific convictions of his fellows. He not only brought to bear the

sanest judgment upon all his investigations, but he coupled with his judgment infinite patience and toil. He was exceedingly hesitant lest he should make premature announcement of conclusions reached. His great book embodying his mature convictions was long withheld from the printer, that in the latest light he might, if need be, revise his statements. His estimate of himself is expressed in the following: "My success as a man of science, whatever this may have amounted to, has been determined, so far as I can judge, by complex and diversified mental qualities and conditions. Of these the most important have been—the love of science—unbounded patience in long reflecting over any subject —industry in observing and collecting facts—and a fair share of invention as well as of common sense. With such modest abilities as I possess, it is truly surprising that I should have influenced to a considerable extent the belief of scientific men on some important points."

It was not, of course, to be expected that a philosophy so revolutionary as was that of Darwin, one threatening the destruction of so many cherished beliefs, should pass at once to acceptance even with the world of scholars. This philosophy merited the stoutest challenge. If it were false, it deserved instant and merciless overthrow; if it were based in the truth, it could afford to bide the time of its approval. And this philosophy was challenged, challenged all along the line with the biggest thunder of intellectual gunnery. It was attacked by every method known to dialectical warfare. Grave dignitaries from high seats of learning brought against it all their treasured logic and reason. It was caricatured and travestied by every art of buffoonery.

These travesties and caricatures became stock implements on the lips of cheap platform lecturers who used them, as a juggler might use a charm, to awaken uproarious applause from audiences whose members were ignorant of a single principle involved in the philosophy itself. It is sad to be forced to say it, but many a pulpit seemed to find it a cheap and easy way to vindicate its own orthodoxies by now and then holding Darwinism up to ridicule. It is safe to say that no intellectual movement ever passed to its triumph through a more trying gauntlet of protest than has the Darwinian philosophy.

It is now more than fifty years since Darwin published his Origin of Species. The fortresses of opposition are silent and empty. Thought has had time for adjustments. The world of scholarship and of science is committed to the Darwinian philosophy. It is found to be a philosophy which explains more facts and solves more questions, and more satisfactorily, than any other known to human thought. It is found to fit into the great trends of natural history. As a law of development it takes its place naturally in a universal order along with the nebular hypothesis and geological evolution. It is seen to have an increasingly wide application as suggesting normal processes in the development of numerous sciences. Even the Christian theologian has ceased to fear Darwinism. It no longer suggests itself to him as in antagonism to a theistic faith. On the contrary, it suggests to him infinite enrichments of his conception of God's method with his universe.

All this is far from saying that the philosophy known

as Darwinism was elaborated to its present perfection by Darwin himself. Since its first announcement by the great author, the contributions of a half century of the world's best thinking have come to its enrichment. It seems, however, as certain of its place in universal thought as does the Copernican astronomy or the Newtonian philosophy of gravitation.

At this point we may properly pause for a little to inquire as to the effect of the great mental movements above indicated upon some traditional beliefs, beliefs not simply ecclesiastical but firmly intrenched in the teachings of science as well. For many ages it was believed that the earth was the center of the universe. Above the earth, lifted not so very far away, the overarching sky hung as a canopy. Attached to this canopy the stars were thickly suspended, and their chief function was, that of the sun to light the earthly day, and of the lesser stars to ornament the night heavens, and to relieve the mundane darkness. In this view the entire heavens were subsidiary to the earth. Man in contemplating the physical universe could easily magnify his own importance in creation. He was indeed made but a little lower than the angels, and was crowned with glory and honor. He held the scepter of dominion over the works of God; all things of field and sea and air were put under his feet. He was the crowned citizen of the one world for which God had made all things else.

But, how changed all this perspective in the light of the new astronomy! We now know that in the small family of our solar system alone the earth is but one of its minor planets, and that in the greater universe

it is but a mere sand-grain snuggling in its place on the shores of immensity.[1]

Modern science has not only infinitely enlarged man's conception of the universe in which he lives, but it has swept the Ptolemaic astronomy from the skies, driven it from its last refuge in human thought. This system, like a wrapped mummy, has been consigned to the museums of literary curiosity, where its chief use is to remind men who shall come after of the tragic fact that for nearly fifteen centuries the human intellect was held in the thrall of a great system founded in grossest error.

The science of geology has likewise either revolutionized or utterly destroyed many cherished and age-long beliefs. Until within very recent times, a well-nigh universal conviction, held in common by science as well as by the ecclesiastical teacher, was that of the creation of the earth in six literal days of twenty-four hours each. The general interpretation of Genesis, though as is now felt quite needlessly so, made the Bible teach this view. Being clothed, as was supposed, with the sanctity of a divine revelation, this theory of the earth's origin was most religiously intrenched in human thought. Any attack upon its validity was felt to be a sort of treason against holy truth. The mental attitude of multitudes of good people was that if the claims of geology meant the destruction of this view, then geology itself must be a science falsely so called, something to be shunned by all lovers of the truth. But an enlightened geology has won its right of way,

[1] As I shall recur more fully to the lessons of modern astronomy—see Chapter XIV—I do not here further elaborate this illustration.

and the six-day creation view has been consigned to the limbo of superseded beliefs.

Another change in popular belief which geology and its kindred sciences have effected is with reference to the time of man's advent upon the earth. The old chronologies with childlike confidence started with the year 1, punctuating that year by the creation of Adam, and then by the stride of events walked easily down the centuries. According to their testimony, the first man was created about six thousand years ago. But now, cold history, to say nothing about geology, as deciphered from the monuments, proves man's existence long prior to six thousand years ago. The testimony of geology, upon the other hand, a testimony now accepted in the court of science as indubitable, asserts that man for many times the period of six thousand years has been a citizen of the earth.

In accepting these great changes in conviction wrought by modern scientific discoveries we must guard ourselves against any undue disparagement of man himself. We may remember that if the universe has been infinitely extended in space, and immeasurably projected in time, it is still man's Godlike reason that has discovered it all. Man stands in his place under the uplifted heavens a being more divine than all the flaming suns; he walks the time-scarred earth, the single thinker who alone reads its ancient secrets, and writes the Bible of its revelations.

"For though the giant ages hew the hill,
And break the shore,
And evermore
Make and break and work their will;

"Though world on world in myriad myriads roll
Round us, each with different powers,
And other forms of life than ours,
What know we greater than the soul?"

Our query, however, is, if the thought of the past has made so great mistakes in its interpretations of nature, is it not also probable that the same thought may have made equal mistakes in realms of religion and philosophy? It is my purpose reverently to pursue this query.

PHILOSOPHY AND CRITICAL SCIENCE

From the infancy of the race there have been minds which, turning aside from the ordinary pursuits and passions of men, from the prizes of trade, from the clamor of war, from the pluckings of fame, have given over their lives to the search. Argonauts in quest of the golden fleece of knowledge and of truth, their voyages have penetrated to the remotest corners of the earth and reached out among the stars. . . . Civilization is their work; the modern world is in some sense their creation. Amid the destruction and decay that attends all else from human hands, their achievements remain. The fabrics of the kingdoms melt away; where Accad and where Carthage stood, no broken pillar lifts its lonely form to mark the spot amid the desert silences. The dust and dreams of Cæsar mingle with the forgotten ashes of his slaves. But Archimedes' lever and Thales' magic stone, the theorems of Euclid and Hipparchus' starry sphere, the magnetic compass of the dynasty of Tsin, and the black powder of Berthold Schwartz and his forerunners, the pendulum of Ibn-Junis and Hans Lippershey's far-reaching, near-drawing tubes, the presses of Gutenberg and Coster, the balance and retorts of Lavoisier, James Watt's laboring giants of steam, Volta's pile, and Faraday's whirling magnets, are possessions imperishable while civilization, their fruit, survives.—Carl Snyder.

The contrast between our age and that wherein the principle of Tradition found a free field is as broad as it can well be. Our commerce is vast. The race is throwing all its accumulations of experience into one collection. Ideas and impressions are in eager competition. The study of religion is comparative. The body of facts within our ken is steadily and rapidly growing, and every increase of data deepens our feeling for the facts that are pressing forward into knowledge. Reason is forced to keep open house. Hypotheses cannot maintain a fixed form.—Professor Henry S. Nash.

In the intellectual life there has been an unprecedented leap forward during the last hundred years. Individually we are not more gifted than our grandfathers, but collectively we have wrought out more epoch-making discoveries and inventions in one century than the whole race in the untold centuries that have gone before. If the twentieth century could do for us in the control of social forces what the nineteenth did for us in the control of natural forces, our grandchildren would live in a society that would be justified in regarding our present social life as semibarbarous.—Professor Walter Rauschenbusch.

CHAPTER IV

PHILOSOPHY AND CRITICAL SCIENCE

Among the creative factors in the structure of modern thought large place must be given to the inductive philosophy. The inductive philosophy, which seems inseparably associated with the name of Francis Bacon, has, by its applied principles, done more than all preceding systems not only to give man a supreme mastery over nature's forces, but to effectively transform these forces themselves into working agents for human uses. Greece, two thousand years before the days of Bacon, bred a school of philosophers as keen in intellectual insight, as fruitful in their power of mental abstraction, as any race of thinkers that has ever lived. The philosophy of these ancient minds has entered vitally and with large control into all subsequent philosophical thinking; but as yielding practical utilities fifty years of the inductive philosophy has proven to be of more value than many centuries of Grecian thought. The Greek philosophy and its successors were theoretical in their aims. They spent themselves in pursuit of ideals. They ministered alone to the pleasures of an intellectual aristocracy ever seeking excursions into realms of abstract truth and beauty, but filled with a lofty scorn of any spirit of invention which would utilize the forces of nature to promote the material comforts of mankind. "In my own time," says Seneca, "there have been inventions of this sort, transparent windows, tubes for diffusing warmth equally through all parts of a build-

ing, shorthand, which has been carried to such perfection that a writer can keep pace with the most rapid speaker. But the invention of such things is drudgery for the lowest slaves; philosophy lies deeper. It is not her office to teach men how to use their hands. The object of her lessons is to form the soul." The school of philosophy represented by Seneca thought that the highest use of science was not to give man practical dominion over the forces of nature, but to furnish him opportunity to exercise his mind in the answering of subtle questions.

On the other hand, the permanent glory and value of the inductive philosophy are manifest in its practical tendency to transform the earth itself into a paradise for man's abode. Macaulay has undertaken to sum up the philosophy of which he makes Bacon the great apostle in two words—utility and progress. On the plane of the industries, the arts, and the sciences, this philosophy is certainly largely to be adjudged as utilitarian. In its atmosphere the spirit of invention, the appliances of industry, discovery of the secrets of nature, the healing arts, added comforts in the home, improved material conditions of living—indeed, immeasurable ministries for the enrichment of man's life upon the earth —have flourished and multiplied as never before. It is the very beneficence of this philosophy that it has put into man's hands the key to nature's wealth, and has shown him the possibility of securing for himself in this human life all the material comforts of an Edenic estate. But justice to this philosophy demands that we shall not limit its benefits to mere material conditions. As a system of applied thought it has vastly

enlarged man's insight into the nature of things. It has intensified his thirst for truth. It has enlarged his confidence in the reliability of his own intellectual processes, and has done much in every way to separate the modern mind from that subserviency to imposed authority which clung like a paralysis to mediæval thought. If we are to accept Macaulay's characterization of this philosophy, then a far greater emphasis should be placed upon its genius for ministering to progress than upon its mere utilitarian character. Its ministry to real progress must be given the widest application. It is a philosophy which not only did much to break down mediæval superstition, but which has contributed vastly on its intellectual side to the freedom, the virility and fruitfulness of modern thought.

So far as Bacon is personally concerned, many modern scientists and writers would dissent widely from Macaulay's estimate of his values. Bacon himself was certainly slow to give his personal adhesion to some of the most important of scientific truths. Dr. Draper has said of him: "Few scientific pretenders have made more mistakes than Lord Bacon. He rejected the Copernican system, and spoke insolently of its great author; he undertook to criticise adversely Gilbert's treatise, De Magnete; he was occupied in the condemnation of any investigation of final causes, while Harvey was deducing the circulation of the blood from Acquapendente's discovery of the valves in the veins; he was doubtful whether instruments were of any advantage, while Galileo was investigating the heavens with the telescope. Ignorant himself of every branch of mathematics, he presumed that they were useless in science

but a few years before Newton achieved by their aid his immortal discoveries." The probability is, whatever Bacon's excellencies or defects, that even had he not lived at all the world would have duly come into the benefits of the inductive philosophy.

To Immanuel Kant, more than to any other single mind, the modern world is indebted for a philosophy adequate to vindicating the rights of the human soul, the sacredness of personality, as against the growing and overshadowing tyranny of nature. He has been charged as an iconoclast and a destroyer of the strongly wrought systems of his predecessors, but the fact is that the philosophical systems which occupied the field when Kant appeared were none of them large enough, nor of the kind, to have averted the subjection of modern thought to a crass deistic materialism. Kant felt all the majesty of the "starry heavens," but he also felt the Sinai of "moral law" within the soul. He felt that the two great voices, the voice of nature without and that of the moral law within, could not be in conflict with each other, and with the strength of a Titan he hewed his way through the mazes of thought to a rational vindication of the rights of the soul, of its individuality, of its dignity, as against a philosophy which would give to material nature an exclusive monopoly of being.

COMPARATIVE RELIGIONS

A study which has done much to revise traditional conceptions and to give enlightened views as to God's relations to the world at large is that of comparative religions. This study may now be designated as a science. The openness of the entire globe, a vast inter-

world commerce, and the rapid-transit methods of communication developed in the last fifty years, all have furnished great opportunities to the student to secure first-hand acquaintance with the history, the literature, the social character, and the religious faiths and customs of all nations.

A most fruitful agency in securing the data for this science is that of Christian missionaries, whose enlightened and benevolent work in all lands has given them not only exceptional opportunity to study the phases of the great religions, but has at the same time furnished them with most urgent motives for securing a thorough knowledge of the same. The zeal with which this study has been prosecuted is well illustrated by the story of Anquetil du Perron, a scholar born in 1731. As a student in Paris he acquainted himself with Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian. In the Royal Library a fragment of the Zend-Avesta fell into his hands. It fired him with so intense desire to learn the Zend and the Sanskrit languages that he enlisted as a common soldier to be sent to India, that there he might come in contact with regions of knowledge into which no European had entered. Modern appliances have made it easy for men of like spirit to study at first hand, at their very temple doors, all the great religions of the world.

Among English scholars, Professor Max Müller was doubtless the most fruitful single worker in this field. He mastered the Sanskrit literatures, and translated the sacred books of India for use by Western scholars. In the process of this study the religions of the world have been placed, as in parallel columns, side by side with each other. Their points of resemblance as well

as of dissimilarity have been most carefully developed, with the result that the outlook by the average Christian thinker upon the conditions of the religious world has not only been greatly broadened, but the process has necessitated much revision of previous thinking.

One fact which has been clearly affirmed is that man universally is a religious being. It was an old conception, one, however, without standing in present philosophical thought, that religion is the creation of rulers and of priests. But religion is found to be too universal, too deep-seated in human nature, to give rational place to such a view. It is religion that accounts for the priest, and not the priest who is the originator of religion. The priest may have had large influence in directing, in degrading or ennobling, the modes of religious expression; but for such influence he has been dependent always and absolutely upon the deep and ineradicable fact of man's natural religiousness.

The expression of the religious life is as varied as the tribes of men. The Bushmen in Australia, the Fetich-worshipers in the African jungle, in their methods of worship present the greatest contrast to methods which are in vogue before the high altar, and as voiced in the stately music and ritual of the Christian cathedral. The worthiness of view of the being to be worshiped runs through infinite gradations, from the most sodden idolatry to the loftiest conception of God as revealed in the Christian Scriptures; but in one form or another the religious feeling universally prompts men to worship, nor are those in Christian or pagan lands who call themselves atheists, infidels, or agnostics an exception in themselves to this general law. Even such as profess

to be without religion are inevitably influenced by impressions of forces in the universe not themselves, and to which they are subject; and their religion, blind as it may seem, is governed by the spirit in which they relate themselves to these forces.

Another conviction which a growing acquaintance with the religions of the world has brought home to the Christian thinker is that God has truly revealed himself to all the tribes of men. He has not left himself without witness with any nation. To all peoples in the measure of their capacity and desire to receive the truth concerning himself has God spoken. Nearly all of the historic nations have had their great teachers whose utterances to their age have carried messages truly divine. The customs and aptitudes of different peoples have given many diverse developments to their religions. In some cases—in most cases, indeed—the popular faith and practice have been mixed with such gross alloy of error as to make impossible any general and high religious attainment among the people.

In Greece, for instance, the moral perception and teaching of both Socrates and Plato were such as worthily to rank them among the great prophets of the race. But there was something in the polytheistic atmosphere, and in the moral habits of Greece, cultured as it was, which made it impossible to develop in Attica under the prophetic leadership of a Plato, even had he been an Elijah, the high type of religion which was evoked in Judea under the moral inspiration of the Hebrew prophets. Judea in the creations of intellect and of art bears no comparison with Attica; but, on the other hand, the intellectual glories of Greece shrink when

compared with the worth of the moral heritage which Judea bequeathed to mankind.

While, then, there is left no room for doubt that the religion whose history and inspirations are furnished in the Bible is the highest and most valuable of which the world has knowledge, yet the study of comparative religions not only emphasizes the fundamental fact of man's common religious nature, but serves to impress upon the discerning missionary worker the wisdom of carefully seeking a common standing-ground of conviction from which he may lead the pagan worshiper to the perception and embrace of the better faith. It is not the first function of the Christian missionary to seek either to deny or to destroy the truths of pagan faiths, but to recognize and to utilize them as conditions of more surely winning the subjects of these faiths to the acceptance of the more perfect revelation.

There have been some dark chapters in the beliefs of people of the more enlightened religions with reference to God's assumed discrimination in his dealings with the human family. The ancient Jew confirmed himself in the belief that he of all humanity was God's elect and favorite son, that he was to be the inheritor of a paradise from which all other races were to be excluded. In more recent times the Papal Church has held the ban of mortal fear over entire nations by its pretense of holding the sole custody of the keys to human salvation. And, in the general Christian view, the conviction has largely been held that the nations outside the pale of Christendom were shut up to the hopeless doom of divine rejection. All such views, in the light of our larger knowledge of man's religious

nature, and under the prompting of better conceptions of God's method with his world, are now more than ever felt to be in themselves most religiously provincial, inherently improbable, and unworthy the character of the Divine Father. Peter, under the special illumination of the heavenly vision, was so far lifted away from his Jewish narrowness as to declare: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." To Peter this judgment came as a revelation. Through the modern study of comparative religions this same judgment is brought home in wide and rational confirmation to Christian thought.

ARCHÆOLOGY

The study of archæology has within the last half century contributed vastly to our knowledge of the ancient civilizations. Strictly speaking, this science has had its entire development within the last hundred years. The ancient classical literatures, as long known to the world, may in part serve the ends of archæological search; but the art of translating, for instance, the hieroglyphics on the monuments of Egypt and the cuneiform tablets excavated from the sites of ancient cities in Mesopotamia is all of very recent date. In late times it has been discovered that wherever any great civilization, however long now extinct, has flourished, there man has left records which interpreted will portray to us the mental and social qualities of the people, the institutions, civil and religious, of the ages which they represent. This science has greatly revised and enlarged the scope of historic measurements. Until

within a very recent period nothing has practically been known of ancient Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt save as contained in the records of the ancient classics and the Bible. Archæology has so resurrected these old civilizations as to give to the modern scholar a vivid and rich reproduction of the very lives of their peoples, their laws, their governments, their social and religious customs. Not only this, but it has pushed the dates of these civilizations far back into the ages. Against the background of a rich prehistoric age, dateless in its duration, Egypt presents a continuous history of seven thousand years, all its periods abundantly tested by archæological records. The Babylonian civilization, probably not younger than that of Egypt, seems also to be proven as the fountain-source of the world's oldest art, law, and religion.

In the language of Professor Driver: "Thus the last century has witnessed what is virtually the rediscovery and reconstruction of two entire civilizations, each beginning in an almost incalculable antiquity, and each presenting a highly organized society, possessing well-developed institutions, literature and art, and each capable of being followed, with gaps, indeed, in parts, but in other parts with remarkable completeness, through many centuries of a varied and eventful history. And whereas eighty years ago little was known of either nation beyond what was stated incidentally in the Old Testament, or by classical writers, now voluminous works descriptive of both are being constantly written and are quickly left behind by the progress of discovery."

Syria lies between the territories of Babylon and of Egypt. Its lands, long before the age of Abraham,

were frequently the scenes of the migrations and the camping-grounds of both these kingdoms. Indeed, both of these nations were old when as yet the Hebrew nation was unborn. It would not be reasonable to assume that the Hebrew people would not be largely the inheritors, and greatly to their own shaping, of the culture, the customs, and the laws of these older civilizations. Of the facts in the case, as we shall have occasion to note, archæology has much to say.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM

The science of biblical criticism, as we now know it, is also quite fully a development of recent thought. Indeed, the mental conditions which could make such a science possible did not exist until far within the eighteenth century. For many centuries prior to that time the Bible, so far as the people were concerned, had been in the keeping of an "infallible" Church. It was a structure too sacred to be profaned by the test-touch of science. Its messages to mankind could be safely given only through a priestly interpreter. It is true that before this period the Bible in Germany and in England had come, through various versions, much into the hands of the people. But even so, the heritage of tradition rested heavily upon its pages. If Luther and his successors in the Reformation appealed from the Church to the Bible, this appeal practically resulted in the installment by Protestantism of an infallible Book in the place of an infallible Church. The inductive philosophy was still in its infancy. Its application to literary processes was only as yet partial. The intellectual conditions were not ripe for the birth of new

methods of Bible study. These conditions came to expression in the tempers of the eighteenth-century thought. In this century the traditions of the past, however hoary, went largely into bankruptcy. The mind of this century broke with the past. The eighteenth-century thinker stood with his face to the future. The new mental movement was not priestly in its origin. It was characteristically a movement of the lay mind, a temper in which the layman first asserted his rights of independent thought. He had ceased utterly to believe in an infallible Church, or in the infallibility of any intellectual oracle of the past; but he came to his place with a great confidence, newly born within him, in the infallibility of his own reason. The mental atmosphere of this age was charged with a kind of resentment against what was felt to have been a vast usurpation of organized authority against the inherent rights of the human intellect. This age, as no one which had preceded it, begot in the human soul an insatiate desire for truth; it was the age in which there first came to clear consciousness the spirit of modern science. For the first time really in history, the scholar, delivered from the fetters of tradition, confident in his own powers, felt free to pursue any path of investigation which might lead to new truth. In his new-found sense of freedom he accepted no prohibition as imposed by tradition. Indeed, if the mind is free at all to pursue truth, then it should be free, without fear or favor, to pursue all truth to its last hidings.

This spirit began a new critical study of literature, of all literature which might be sufficiently vital to claim critical attention. The turning of this critical spirit

toward the Bible was not an exceptional thing. The Bible, by virtue of the great place which it held in the world's thought, by reason of its paramount claims on the human soul, invited in a preëminent degree the searchlight of this new critical spirit. It was in the very nature of the case that it finally, more fully, perhaps, than any other literature, should undergo the most searching and microscopic interrogation. To the mediæval view the mood which prompted this course would seem like the laying of profane hands on the ark of the Lord; but it was, nevertheless, the mood from which was to be born a new consecration of human reason in the service of divine truth, and by which, as never before, the human soul should find freedom through the truth.

I am deeply conscious that I have only partially and very imperfectly sketched the forces and movements out of which has come the world of modern thought. I must believe, however, that no one can have measured the bearings of facts so far indicated without being in some degree prepared not only for new methods of dealing with truth, but as well for great revisions of conviction concerning views which past generations have held as sacred and established.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS BY THE WAY

Plato's books are his deepest thought eternized, lifted above the changes and the chances of the short Athenian day. Students have misread them, carrying into them their own wisdom and ignorance, making Plato speak a language widely different from his own. But only for a while. Sooner or later a great book becomes its own interpreter. Pressing steadily upon the minds of those who love it, it creates at last a true taste for itself. The price the world has to pay for ownership of a great book is the labor of understanding it. And no matter how long the payment of the debt may be put off, sooner or later it must be paid to the uttermost farthing.

So it has been with our Scriptures. Because the Church of an earlier time saw in them a value incomparable, and felt in them a power of God not to be withstood, she canonized them, made of them a Bible. And because the Church of our day, the selfsame Church, but living under changed conditions and facing new tasks, has the selfsame reverence for them, she is being led into the paths of criticism. In all this mental movement the Bible does not play a passive part. It is its own keeper.—Professor Henry S. Nash.

CHAPTER V

SOME CONSIDERATIONS BY THE WAY

Biblical criticism, in its very name, is to many a subject of exceeding sensitiveness. In entering upon its discussion, while I shall studiously seek to keep within the consensus of scholarly findings, I cannot but be aware that many devout souls are utterly unprepared by their own examination of the questions at issue to be much in sympathy with the subject itself. It is largely in the interests of such persons that I am prompted to write. I could greatly covet the ability so to present to these the truth, truth which I am sure must finally win for itself undisputed authority, as in no way to disturb the restfulness of their faith. I may not, perhaps, hope to succeed according to my desire. To any critical observer it is evident that in matters of faith most people are much under the influence of traditional inheritance. Within limits this is healthful. It is possible to err in too great a readiness to receive new thought. An old faith should not be abandoned save for the best of reasons. No one should prodigally throw away convictions which he regards as valuable. But the truth seems to be that a majority even of the religious convictions popularly held are not such as have resulted from independent and painstaking thought put forth by persons themselves holding such convictions. The opinions to which many most stubbornly adhere, and in defense of which professing saints sometimes too readily lose their tempers, are simply ready-

made articles which have been passed from the hands of others, and which have cost their possessors neither sweat of brain nor struggle of soul. I do not, of course, intend to assume that all individuals should be counted as competent safely to elaborate their own creeds. We are all more or less dependent, and rightly so, upon the teaching agency of the Church for safe exposition for both faith and conduct. The difficulty is that very many fail to make rational discrimination as to the assets of their faith. In the inventory of their beliefs they emphasize much that does not partake of vital truth. Their habit of mind is to attach a first importance to the nonessential thing. Having accepted the teachings of their fathers, if called upon by the advance of enlightened thought to surrender one of these nonessentials, they leap nervously to the conclusion that the whole structure of their Christian belief is about to fall.

We cannot prevent this habit of mind. It is persistent, and it does not characterize lay thought alone. There are many set in places of the leader and the teacher in Zion whose mental fixity seems to give no place of hospitality to new ideas. It is at least pathetic, not to say reprehensible, for men who stand in high places as religious teachers not to be in this day respectably familiar with the trends of critical scholarship as involved in the modern historical study of the Bible. Yet it sometimes happens that even the pulpit makes use, for instance, of the term "higher criticism" in such manner and relations as to betray the fact that its user has no adequate understanding of the phrase which he so easily utters.

It may be admitted that there is a temptation to the weak man sometimes to exploit himself in this way. It is a trick of the cheap orator, whose eloquence thrives on fallacies, to appeal to the popular prejudice. This often makes it easy for the vociferous defender of the merely traditional to command for the time the applause of the crowd. And it must be admitted that this man is not a pleasant personality in the situation. While he justly merits for himself the contempt of the surefooted scholar, yet with the popular jury his insolence and craft are quite likely to secure a temporary verdict as against the knowledge of the scholar. Truth, however, in the long run, is sure to find its own vindication as against all comers. The questions at issue are not such as can be decided by popular vote. They are questions for scholarship, and scholarship can afford to be patient. In all discussions of thought and of criticism the voice of the scholar is finally decisive.

One should not be deterred from the pursuit of truth through fear of disturbing traditional thought. Truth has always been a disturber in just the proportion in which it has brought new messages for the revision and enrichment of society. Every forward movement which truth has led has meant the break-up and abandonment of old camping-grounds of faith. Multitudes of good people are disturbed and much put about every time civilization moves on and up to a better plane of realization and of thought. This is a part of the price which must be paid for true advancement. But advancement in the right direction, at whatever cost, is immeasurably preferable to stagnation. It is better for the individual that he be disturbed, irritated, stim-

ulated by the truth than that he be content to live and die in error.

The part that the individual promoter of new truth has to play in disturbing old belief may, in this respect, be quite out of harmony with what he himself could wish. Dr. George Salmon, late provost of Trinity College, Dublin, author of The Human Element in the Gospels, forcibly describes his feelings as follows: "Feeling myself to be quite free from bias, I was willing to try what the result would be of an impartial investigation of the composition of New Testament books, conducted with a complete independence of traditional opinion, as has been obtained in the case of the Old Testament. My notion was to take the three Synoptic Gospels, and, putting aside all Church doctrines as to their inspiration or authority, discuss their mutual relations as a mere question of criticism, just as if they had been newly discovered documents of whose history we knew nothing. I do not think that when I undertook this task I had fully understood what a sacrifice of previous sentiment it involved. . . . For my own feelings, the books of the Gospels had a sacredness which Old Testament books had not; and it was painful to me to lay aside those feelings of reverence which had hitherto deterred me from too minute investigation. I felt as if I had been set to make a dissection of the body of my mother; and could not feel that the scientific value of the results I might obtain would repay me for the painful shock resulting from the very nature of the task."

There can be no doubt that the feeling thus vividly described by Dr. Salmon has been that of many another

reverent investigator in the field of biblical criticism. But the scholar would be less than loyal to himself, and unworthy a place among real truth-seekers, if in the spirit of unbiased investigation he should do less than to follow wherever truth should lead.

It is, of course, well known that this has not always been the spirit of some who have engaged in critical biblical study. Some have entered this field with a destructive purpose only in view. The atheist, the infidel, and the agnostic have sought from their various standpoints, and in the role of critics, to destroy the Bible. Others have approached this study so far under the bias of preconceived notions as to unfit them for judicial processes. Still others have entered upon this work for the sole purpose of supporting their own theories. The spirit of none of these is truly scientific. But it is safe to say that after a century and a half of investigation, and in spite of all results contributed by hostile, prejudiced, and incompetent critics, there has been reached a consensus of reverent, scholarly, and Christian conclusions on many certainly, perhaps on most, of the vital questions of biblical criticism. With the essential features of this consensus the scholars of Germany, England, and America are in agreement. Of the three countries named, the scholarship of America has been more tardy in working to its findings than that of either of the other nations; but the facts underlying the field of this critical work are such as to compel substantial unanimity in conclusions reached. The process will continue, adding new results with possibly minor revisions here and there, but the verdict on main lines already reached by critical scholarship is not likely to be reversed.

I pass now to some consideration of the necessity of the critical process as applied to the Bible. The need was absolute. It inhered both in the processes of modern thought and in the most urgent claims due to the Bible itself. The movement of biblical criticism was in any event inevitable. If it had been possible for the entire Christian Church to set itself in a mood of indifference and inaction toward the question, the movement would have gone on without the Church. The Bible, however divine, was at least a historic production. By so far it was subject to investigation. As a supreme book in the world's religions, it would as certainly as that the seas attract the rivers attract to itself the newly awakened spirit of critical inquiry. The most ultra traditionalist might just as sensibly quarrel with a sunrise as to quarrel with this tendency of thought. The movement was both inevitable and irresistible.

But for another and very different reason than that it was inevitable as the expression of a new awakening of thought can the devout mind welcome and accept the movement of biblical criticism. It is a movement ordained of Providence. The processes of history had slowly prepared Christian thought to receive its true and larger heritage in the Bible as a supreme revelation of God to man. A fact which seems to have been little apprehended by many Christian apologists is that the Bible is abundantly able to take care of itself. In the entire history of discussion as centering in the Bible it has been invariable that the voice of any new prophet of progress, or the coming in of a new learning, has been greeted by whole schools with protest. Scholars

in numbers have unconsciously urged their own views, traditional or otherwise, as synonymous with the values and integrity of the Bible itself. And on the approach of any new view these same scholars have sprung to the defense of their own notions as though they felt themselves the very saviours and champions of divine revelation. It is a good thing to be zealously affected in a good cause. I do not intend to depreciate the legitimate function and usefulness of the apologist. But I believe that there are some things in his world of which God himself is the guardian. The Bible is one of them. I believe that the Bible itself is immeasurably larger and more divine than the best thought of its ablest human defenders. The Bible will survive when whole bodies of human views concerning it shall have perished. It will be vastly more luminous and serviceable to mankind when its full character and message shall finally be stripped of the intellectual rubbish which human interpreters have imposed upon it. The Bible lives because it is God's Book. He takes care of it. I fear that this fact of God's guardianship of the Bible has not always had its due place of honor in Christian thought.

The following are significant facts. It may be said that prior to the rise of modern criticism the Bible, as we now have it, had passed two distinct eras in its history. The one was that which established its canonicity; the other, that in which for many centuries it was under the keeping and interpretation of a centralized and authoritative Church. It is well-nigh impossible to overstate the values to the Christian world as related to the Bible of one or both of these periods.

The placing of the books of the Old Testament in a canonical group, and the same service as afterward rendered to the books of the New Testament, thus finally making one Bible of the two Testaments, were no haphazard processes. The procedure in both cases was human, and, therefore, not infallible. With reference to the Old Testament, the Jews of Alexandria would have included all or most of the books of the Apocrypha in the canon. These books the Jews of Palestine rejected. The selection of the canon of the New Testament was a far more critical problem than that of the older Testament. This canon had to be sifted from a great volume of Christian writings. There were extant in the period of the making of this canon many Gospels and Epistles claiming apostolic authority. The process was, in its own way, as critical in its search for authentic writings as any which has taken place under the modern higher criticism. The test of any writing to be admitted to the Testament was its identity as of true apostolic authorship. There were many claims which it was difficult to decide. There was never absolute unanimity with reference to them all.

But after a review of all the centuries it would seem that the human selections which resulted in the volumes of Old and New Testament Scriptures as we now have them were as fully decided by the Divine Spirit as were ever any decisions of men charged with the settlement of high questions. A fact of marvelous significance, a significance beyond mere human measurement, is that these various Scriptures, the product of many centuries and of most diverse authorship, and against severe challenge at every gateway of their

passage, got themselves at last assembled in a book which, under the auspices and decision of men most spiritually enlightened, is stamped as containing God's most perfect revelation of himself to mankind. If there be than this a more signal evidence of the divine overruling in human thought, that is something of which I do not know.

Nor are we less impressed with the divine guardianship of the Bible if we study the history of its preservation through the mediæval ages. Europe for centuries was disorganized, its cities had fallen into decay, barbaric conditions prevailed widely throughout its territories, culture was a lost art. The one power which made itself everywhere felt was the Church. The Church itself shared largely in the common downfall. Scholarship had pretty much departed from its ranks. Very few in its priesthood or in its cloisters could read the original languages in which the Bible was written. Its priests were generally ignorant, often brutal and immoral. The period was one of turbulence, of feuds, and of blood. But through all these dark centuries the Church safely guarded the Bible. Whatever else might perish, this Book was not permitted to perish. It was cherished as a divine thing, guarded as the most sacred treasure.

The Church was not always a good expounder, its chief pastors were often grossly untrue to their high offices, but the best lessons which it taught were from the Bible, and from this Book it derived the sanction of that wonderful authority, on the whole a beneficent authority, which it wielded over those barbaric ages. The emphasis must be placed on the fact that through these long ages of anarchy, of confusion and ruin, the

Bible was preserved. The Church which accepted the Bible as its supreme law was the one government which did not perish. Surely, God was standing in that dark period "keeping watch above his own."

There is another side to this ecclesiastical custody of the Bible. The same Church which saved the Scriptures arrogated to itself the sole right of their interpretation. The theory was practically that of an infallible Church interpreting an infallible Book. Modern thought rejects both assumptions of this theory. The official interpretation of the Bible which prevailed in the Church generally down to the age of the Reformation was one almost entirely inherited from the early Fathers—mostly the Postnicene Fathers—who were recognized leaders in Christian thought during the period extending from the third to the sixth centuries. For an understanding of the history of theological thought in these centuries the study of the Fathers is indispensable. But for the purpose of a true understanding of the Scriptures, as required by modern critical standards, this study yields largely unsatisfactory and disappointing results. Into the philosophy of the Scriptures as held by most of these ancient writers had entered large infusions of pagan thought. In their interpretations of the sacred books they dealt much in allegorical methods leading often to most fanciful conclusions. The Fathers were not scientific exegetes of the Divine Word.

The names of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasius, and Augustine are among the most prominent of these early writers. It may be said that the methods of biblical interpretation introduced or supported by these four persons were controlling in the Church for

a thousand years. It will be of interest to cite samples of scriptural interpretation from each of these representative authorities. Clement regarded the Bible as a book of enigmas, and held that allegory is the one key to unlock its meaning. Speaking of the positions of the utensils in the tabernacle, he says: "The altar of incense placed in the Holy Place before the veil is a symbol of the earth in the middle of the universe. The lamp is an emblem of Christ, and its position on the south of the altar shows the motion of the seven planets, which performed their revolutions toward the south. The ark signifies the properties of the world of thought, and the twelve stones in the four rows are the signs of the zodiac in the four seasons."

Origen was perhaps the foremost Christian scholar of his century—the third—and he must be ranked as of most influential authority. He was regarded by many as the greatest teacher of the Church after the apostolic age. John the Baptist speaking of Christ said, "The latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose." Origen says that John here confesses his inability and unfitness to explain the mystery of Christ's assuming a human body. He dwells upon the fact that the Baptist mentions but one shoe, while elsewhere two are named. One shoe, he says, signifies Christ taking human flesh, the other his descent into Hades. He mentions but one because at the time he was in doubt as to whether Christ was to enter Hades. This interpretation is absurdly fanciful.

Athanasius became bishop of Alexandria in the early part of the fourth century. He had a varied but influential career, and put the stamp of his own thought

upon the theology of the Church. In Isa. 6. 3 occurs the expression, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts." From this passage Athanasius proves the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity. The fact that the word "holy" is repeated three times refers to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and that the word "Lord" is spoken but once proves that the three persons of the Trinity are "one essence."

Augustine was born A. D. 354. No one of all the Fathers wielded a wider or more abiding influence upon the Church than did he. His influence in theology may be likened to that of Ptolemy in astronomy. It has been a powerful force even to our own times. While believing in the literal account of the Garden of Eden, he conceded that the story might admit of more than one explanation. Thus: "No one denies that paradise may signify the life of the blessed; its four rivers, the four virtues; its trees, all useful knowledge; its fruit, the customs of the godly; its tree of life, wisdom herself, the mother of all good; and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, the experience of a broken commandment." Or; "Paradise is the Church: the four rivers are the four Gospels; the fruit trees are the saints, and the fruit their works; the tree of life is the Holy of Holies, Christ; the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, the will's free choice." His interpretation of the ark is equally interesting. The ark is a figure of the Church in the world which is rescued by the wood on which Christ hung. Its dimensions represent the human body in which he came, the length of the body being six times its breadth and ten times its depth or thickness. Therefore the ark was made three hundred cubits long,

fifty broad, and thirty high. The door in its side certainly signified the wound in the side of the Crucified One, for by this those who come to him enter.

The instances here given of methods of interpretation by the Fathers are mere fragments, but they are typical and they serve to illustrate the general philosophy of Scripture interpretation which was accepted as fully authoritative in the mediæval Church. These interpretations would seem to be largely grotesque rather than sober attempts to explain the Divine Word. But it is not too strong to assert that, after the sixth century to the period of the Reformation, the writings of the Fathers had more influence in shaping the thought of the Church than had all the direct utterances of Christ and the writers of the New Testament.

Coming to the Reformation, to Wycliffe, Huss, Luther, and the goodly company of Reformers, it is evident that they all were under more or less bondage to the traditional methods of biblical interpretation. The service which they rendered in this field was to differentiate the Bible from the Church, and to emphasize its authority as above and distinct from that of popes or councils. Wycliffe said: "If there were a hundred popes, and if all friars were cardinals, one ought not to trust them in matters of faith except as they agree with Holy Scripture." Luther, though never himself on the plane of interpretation fully emancipated from mediæval methods, said: "When God's Word is expounded and glossed by the Fathers, it is as when one strains milk through a coal sack." Calvin brought prodigious ability to the study of theology, but his great defect as a biblical interpreter was that he came

to all his work with preconceptions. He used his great ability to fit the Scriptures into the molds of ancient dogma.

The Reformers rendered a priceless service by translating the Scriptures into the vernaculars of the people. It was on this anvil that the structure of patristic tradition was hopelessly broken. But the giving of the Bible to the people, while a great step toward the delivering of the popular mind and conscience, was not all. The Bible itself needed emancipation, not only from the repressions of a corrupt Church, but as well from inadequate and vicious methods of interpretation. The Bible, while marvelously preserved in its form, has never, until quite recently, had free opportunity to speak simply for itself. Indeed, the conditions through which it could make itself clearly and fully understood have never really existed since the apostolic age. Protestantism, while a great revolt against the arrogant claims of the Papacy, and while emphasizing the priesthood of the people, nevertheless carried over into itself many views of the Bible which the fuller knowledge and revised thought of the present very fully reject. The Reformers got rid of an infallible Church, but they substituted in its place an infallible Bible as interpreted by the teachings of the early Church. And this position Protestantism as a whole, until within very recent times, has accentuated.

The conditions have been long preparing, and in the order of Providence the time is fully ripe, for a larger and better philosophy of the Bible than either the Papacy or Protestantism, until at least very recently, has been prepared to yield. The new view does not center itself primarily upon either the idea of infal-

libility or inerrancy. It does give due consideration to the properly human elements which enter into the structure of the Scriptures. It recognizes the fact that the Bible is a historic literature, and that by so much it is legitimately subject to investigation. It recognizes that however high the subjects of which it treats, and whatever of inspiration may inhere in its record, it bears as a whole and in every one of its books the impress of its human authors. It recognizes that each one of its books, as a rule, represents a historic background and a human environment which furnish the occasion for the very existence of the book itself. If any have ever supposed that the books of the Bible came ready-made from God's hands into the hands of men, the new philosophy does not give hospitality to that view. It does, however, assert the legitimacy of putting its searchlight on this book up to the last line and the last point where human thought and human hands have had any part in its making. The new view is not skeptical about the divinity of the book. It is not irreverent in its presence. It proceeds to its work with wide-open and reverent vision. It has gone far enough in this work to be convinced that many of the traditional views of inspiration, and of inerrancy of statement, have utterly broken down under investigation. But it is not concerned over such breakdown, for it does not believe that these views were ever a part of the vital or organic structure of the book itself.

We shall, I believe, take a sane view of the modern critical movement as related to the Bible only when we give it due place as a creation of Divine Providence. The critical process is just as certainly of divine purpose

as was the selection and installation of the books themselves, or the preservation of their text in its integrity through the long ages of intellectual chaos. The Christian world has now been sufficiently trained, and scientifically so, to let the Bible, in the light of its own completest history, simply be its own interpreter. And this is really all that modern biblical criticism means. It is just an effort so to strip the Bible of the burdens which ignorance and superstition have imposed upon it, so to relieve it from the attachments with which traditional fallacies and false fancies have surrounded it, that in the unclouded light of its own true character it may speak direct to the hearts and minds of men. And this is what God wants.

Some might ask, If the modern critical study of the Bible is ordained of God, then why has the process been characterized by such conflict? Why have so many hostile and destructive minds been permitted to exploit themselves in this work? These questions should give no trouble. Truth has always won its way through conflict. It is thus always brought into clearer expression, and its values into larger appreciation. The history of conflict shows that God often employs the enemies of truth to furnish material for his own workers.

We may rest secure in the conclusion that if the Bible be of God, then to it no harm can finally come. It is just as secure as the sun in the heavens. Also, if the Bible be a divinely inspired revelation, it will adjustively and commandingly adapt itself to the growing intelligence and needs of mankind. When as a boy I first knew Manhattan Island it had the same topography as now. It was separated from the Jersey

and Long Island shores as now by the Hudson and East Rivers. The only means of passage to these shores was by the lumbering ferryboat, which often had to feel its way from shore to shore through a dense fog. Conditions have greatly changed since then. Many hundreds of thousands of people have come thronging to the city. Great new needs have arisen. The old ferryboat is superseded. The East River is spanned by a series of great bridges, veritable wonders of engineering, over which thunders the ceaseless traffic of human life. The rivers are undergirded by great tunnels through which is the constant rush of human-laden and electric-sped trains. And yet to-day Manhattan and Long Island are just where they were a thousand years ago. They have simply responded to the marvelous needs of a new age.

All this may be a parable of what modern criticism means in reference to the Bible. It is simply putting the light of a new age, of new knowledge, of new intellectual needs, of new and imperative demands of the soul upon the book. Changes in the vision of the situation are doubtless sure to come, have already come. But when the process shall be complete the Bible, without the removal of a single jot or tittle from its real integrity, will be exactly what it was a thousand years ago. The only difference will be that its approaches will be by luminous pathways of knowledge, and, as the great city, it will be glorious by day and beautiful by night.

PERSONAL TO THE READER

When we obey the modern voice it is not because of the supremacy of our individual brain, but because of the working of ten thousand brains, whose researches have accumulated facts that compel our assent. We offer not our personal dictum, but that of the humanity which is ever growing and ever learning; which works with what Emerson calls "the irresistible maturing of the human mind."—JONATHAN BRIERLEY.

CHAPTER VI

PERSONAL TO THE READER

BEFORE entering upon the next three chapters, in which I shall undertake to discuss directly some of the phases of biblical criticism, I desire to make myself fully understood. In matters of fundamental criticism I make no claim as an original investigator. I can only assume to have used reverently and honestly my own intelligence and judgment upon such products of critical thought as have commanded my interest and study. In stating conclusions of a critical character I shall act far more in the capacity of a reporter than as an original investigator. It has so happened that for many years my professional life has been directed in channels of activity which would not be generally thought most favorable to the cultivation of scholarly habits. I gratefully say, however, that while I have always been a conscientious worker in my allotted sphere of duty, I have never been so busy as to have lost interest in, or to have failed to give myself to enamored pursuit of, the living and commanding questions of thought. While my daily work, always engrossing, has been to me a joy, I have always been prompted by my tastes to feel that there are few pleasures more satisfying, or pursuits more enviable, than those which fall to the privilege of the scholar.

The questions of biblical study especially have for many years had for me a most serious and fascinating interest. From such study of these questions as I

have been able to give there have come to me many impressions, some of which have entered decisively into my convictions. But my studies in biblical criticism have been simply such as any intelligent layman might pursue for himself, if interested in this field of investigation. It is simply as a lay student, greatly interested, but claiming no rank as a critical authority, that I venture, in the immediately following chapters, to voice the opinions of some scholars whose conclusions have appealed to me as in many respects both convincing and helpful. I would not, however, wish to be construed as indorsing in detail all opinions, which have appealed to my interest.

In making these statements I would like to guard against any impression of having surrendered my own right of judgment. It is not only the highest right, but, in the last resort, the highest duty, for one to follow his own convictions. I have, however, no hesitation in stating the reasons which have decided my conclusions. I have great respect for the judgment of expert authority. If a member of my family is ill, I consult the best medical skill within reach. If I have to deal with a practical question whose answer requires an expert knowledge of the law, I consult a trained lawyer. If I wish to cross the oceans, I not only select a stanch and comfortable ship, but I want also to feel that this ship is commanded by a cool-headed captain, a master in the art of navigation. Then, if a tempest arises, I am full of composure, for I feel that on the bridge is a man who is competent to manage his vessel in the storm. There are innumerable situations in life in which we trust to the judgment of others rather

than to our own, and simply because for the given exigency we recognize that they have expert knowledge which we have not.

And so, on general principles, in a given department of learning, the expert specialist, due allowance always being made for possible personal bias, is entitled to large consideration. His opinions concerning questions relating to his own department are likely to be more intelligent, more informing, more in conformity with the facts of the case, than can be secured from any other source. And his opinions will be all the more valuable if he is recognized as having exceptional training for his work, as having expert ability for handling the particular questions with which he has to deal, and especially if his findings are corroborated by other specialists in all parts of the world.

And this is precisely the principle on which, as I believe, the general consensus of devout and special scholarship on questions of biblical criticism is entitled to high consideration. Biblical criticism has to-day reached the rank of a science. It is no sporadic movement. It is not the creation of a few speculative intellectual adventurers. It is not in the hands of men of irreverent and destructive purposes. It represents in large measure the most expert, competent, painstaking, and conscientious scholarship of the age. And this scholarship, moreover, as represented in far and near centers of learning, stands in remarkable agreement in many great conclusions reached in this field of investigation.

For instance, the "documentary theory" of the Old Testament is well-nigh universally accepted by recog-

nized authorities in Old Testament literature. This theory, elsewhere discussed, asserts that the Old Testament in the literary form in which we now have it is originally compiled from at least four different preëxisting sources, and that by distinct individuals, or schools, and through different ages, these sources have been combined, edited, and finally brought together in the form and order in which we now have the books. Old Testament scholarship is so generally agreed upon this hypothesis as to make it safe to say that within the last two decades there has not been produced a single accredited Bible dictionary, commentary, or text-book—works already very generally in the hands of studious ministers and Sunday school teachers—which does not either defend or assume its truth. The theory, if carefully studied in its bearings, must, it would seem, commend itself to any thoughtful mind as not only elucidating many of the narratives, but as the key which explains the very evident duplicate form of much of Old Testament literature. Dr. George H. Gilbert, in his recent work on Interpretation of the Bible, says: "The critical method, though spoken against and forcibly opposed, has been accepted by the author of nearly every marked contribution to biblical interpretation during the past three decades in all Protestant lands." To say nothing of Germany and other continental countries, it will hardly admit of challenge that the critical method is that under which all the chairs of Hebrew in the great universities, evangelical and other, of England and America are doing their work. It is due to say that the composite character of the Synoptical Gospels of the New Testament is just as certainly

proven and as universally accepted in the world of biblical scholarship as is the documentary theory for the Old Testament.

There is altogether too much coincidence and significance in this unanimity to admit of its being passed by in silence or thoughtlessly set aside. The critical movement in biblical study, if it should measure nothing more, is of sufficient volume and is supported by so great weight of scholarship as at least to entitle it to most respectful study as an intellectual phenomenon of the age.

It is important not to mistake the true function of "higher criticism." Much in popular thought is loosely attributed to this method which does not belong to it at all. President King has thus defined its scope: "Positively, higher criticism may be defined as a careful historical and literary study of a book to determine its unity, age, authorship, literary form, and reliability. In the determination of these problems, account is taken of the historical references contained in the book, of the style of the book, of the opinions expressed in it, of the citations made in it, and of the testimony (or lack of testimony) to this book found in other books of acknowledged authority, where some reference might be expected. The higher criticism of the book is thus, in the main, simply a painstaking study of the book itself to get at the facts about it."

This process is certainly legitimate. It is a method applied to the Bible just as a scientific method might be applied to nature, for the purpose simply and only of ascertaining not what somebody thinks the Bible ought to say, but exactly what it does say. Reduced

to a last definition, the one and only function of higher criticism proper is to give to the Bible the most unobstructed opportunity, without gloss or comment, to reveal to the reader its own truth, to tell its own divine story.

Higher criticism in its real mission works no such havoc with truth as many have fearfully imagined. Canon Driver, regius professor of Hebrew in Oxford University, in his Introduction to the Old Testament, speaking of effects of the critical process upon the integrity of the Old Testament, says: "It is not the case that critical conclusions, such as those expressed in the present volume, are in conflict either with the Christian creeds or with the articles of Christian faith. Those conclusions affect not the *fact* of revelation, but only its *form*. They help to determine the stages through which it passed, the different phases which it assumed, and the process by which the record of it was built up. They do not touch either the authority or the inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old Testament. They imply no change in respect to the divine attributes revealed in the Old Testament; no change in the lessons of human duty to be derived from it; no change as to the general position (apart from the interpretation of particular passages) that the Old Testament points forward prophetically to Christ. That both the religion of Israel itself, and the record of its history embodied in the Old Testament, are the work of men whose hearts have been touched and minds illuminated, in different degrees, by the Spirit of God, is manifest; but the recognition of this truth does not decide the question of the author by whom, or the date at which, particular

parts of the Old Testament were committed to writing; nor does it determine the precise literary character of a given narrative or book."

Professor Briggs, certainly a high authority, says: "Higher criticism has not contravened any decision of any Christian council, or any creed of any Church, or any statement of Scripture itself."

The advent of higher criticism and its activity in the field of the Bible were, as has already been emphasized, inevitable. The spirit of literary criticism once enthroned in the seats of scholarship, it were puerile to assume that the greatest and most phenomenal book in human possession would not at once present itself as a most inviting and fruitful field of investigation. On this subject Principal Fairbairn, one of the most luminous and helpful of modern Christian writers, says: "If scientific scholarship be legitimate, the higher criticism cannot be forbidden—the two have simply moved *pari passu*. Hebrew language became another thing in the hands of Gesenius from what it had been in the hands of Parkhurst; the genius of Ewald made it a still more living and mobile and significant thing. The discoveries in Egypt and Mesopotamia have made forgotten empires and lost literatures rise out of their graves to elucidate Hebrew history and literature. A more intimate knowledge of Oriental man and nature, due to personal acquaintance with them, has qualified scholars the better to read and understand the Semitic minds. A more accurate knowledge of ancient versions, combined with a more scientific archæology, and a clearer insight into the intellectual tendencies and religious methods of the old world, especially in their

relation to literary activity and composition, has enabled the student to apply new and more certain canons to all that concerns the formation of books and texts. The growth of skilled interpretation, exercised and illustrated in many fields, has accustomed men to the study of literature and history together, showing how the literature lived through the people and the people were affected by the literature; and so has trained men to read with larger eyes the books and peoples of the past. With so many new elements entering into sacred scholarship, it is impossible that traditional views and traditional canons should remain unaffected. If ever anything was inevitable through the progress of science, it was the birth of the higher criticism."

In this personal chapter I am frank to say that my own interest and conviction have been largely enlisted in this field because of the great and, as it seems to me, irresistible mass of facts and phenomena of the kind which I have above stated, because of its supreme importance to the Christian Church, and because I think I see in this advance in modern biblical study a movement through which most luminously God is giving to the world more clearly and fully than ever before the direct revelation of himself.

HEBREW HISTORY

The subject of the first chapter of Genesis is not Creation, but the Creator. What it gives us is not a world, but a God.—Professor W. G. Elmslie.

It is impossible to doubt that the main conclusions of critics with reference to the authorship of the books of the Old Testament rest upon reasonings the cogency of which cannot be denied without denying the ordinary principles by which history is judged and evidence estimated. Nor can it be doubted that the same conclusions, upon any neutral field of investigation, would have been accepted without hesitation by all conversant with the subject: they are opposed in the present instance by some theologians, only because they are supposed to conflict with the requirements of the Christian faith. But the history of astronomy, geology, and, more recently, of biology, supplies a warning that the conclusions which satisfy the common unbiased and unsophisticated reason of mankind prevail in the end. The price at which alone the traditional view can be maintained is too high. Were the difficulties which beset it isolated or occasional the case, it is true, would be different: it could then, for instance, be reasonably argued that a fuller knowledge of the times might afford the clue that would solve them. But the phenomena which the traditional view fails to explain are too numerous for such a solution to be admissible; they recur so *systematically* that some cause or causes, for which that view makes no allowance, must be postulated to account for them. The hypothesis of glosses and marginal additions is a superficial remedy: the fundamental distinctions upon which the main conclusions of critics depend remain untouched.—Professor S. R. Driver.

CHAPTER VII

HEBREW HISTORY

Hebrew history, always important as a subject of investigation, has come in the present day to be a study of engrossing interest in all centers of Christian learning. Until very recently the Hebrew writings of the Old Testament were assumed to belong to the oldest historic records, and to record the history of the most ancient families of the human race. Indeed, from time immemorial, these have been the oldest historic records accessible. It has been generally and most naturally believed that the Hebrew people, dating from the days of Abraham, rank chronologically, if not the very first, yet among the oldest of the nations of mankind. It has been assumed that from the days of Adam, through an unbroken succession which finally linked itself with the Hebrew theocracy, there was passed down from the sources of original revelation a monotheistic faith of which the Hebrew nation was the special and chosen inheritor.

Now it has come to be that nearly all this view has been radically revised. Archæology has resurrected the histories of the nations of Mesopotamia and of Egypt, giving us as accurate and detailed a knowledge of their ancient peoples as the Old Testament gives us of the Israelites. In the light of these records we learn that the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Roman nations are comparatively modern among the ancient civilizations. Babylonian history can be definitely traced to a past

that antedates Moses by a period as great as that which separates Moses from our own times. So far as we are able definitely to decide, the national life of Israel began in Palestine certainly not earlier than 1400 B. C., probably later. But archæology gives indubitable proof of the fact that there were civilized empires in existence more than six thousand years ago, and these civilizations were preceded by long prehistoric periods. The discovery of the code of Hammurabi demonstrates that in Babylon as early as 2250 B. C. there existed a civilization characterized by highly ethical ideals and customs. Professor Kent characterizes this code as follows: "In its high sense of justice; in its regard for the rights of property and of individuals; in its attitude toward women, even though it comes from the ancient East; and above all in its protection of widows and orphans, this code marks almost as high a stage in the revelation of what is right as the primitive Old Testament laws, with which it has points of highest resemblance." This code certainly, whether or not the thought which gave it birth contributed in any measure to the civil and ethical ideas which afterward entered so fully into the life of Israel, represents a civilization that was old and powerful when as yet history gives no trace of even the beginnings of the Hebrew nation.

As for the doctrine of an original revelation given by God to the first parents of the race, and which was passed in a direct and guarded line to the special keeping of the Jewish people, this is a view to which critical history gives no support. The evidence, on the other hand, is that the Jewish people themselves sprang from a polytheistic ancestry. It is true that as far

as we may go back along historic lines the peoples who preceded and surrounded the Israelitish life were religious. The religions of these various peoples were not all of a common type, but they were all polytheistic. Renan is only one of many historians who have characterized the Semitic races as having a special gift for religion. Whatever truth there may be in this, the Jews as a Semitic race were the natural heirs to this gift. It is also true that the older nations by which Israel was surrounded, Babylon and Egypt, and of whose religious and social customs Israel must have had large knowledge, were the possessors of the most advanced religious faiths known to the ancient world.

The religious history, however, of the Jewish people, so far as we are able to trace it, gives evidence of a development from primitive and idolatrous beginnings in an ascent more or less constant until at last it gives expression to the sublime monotheism of Isaiah. The distinctive fact, and the one of greatest possible significance, is that, however it emerged, Israel, from a very early date, and in the midst of hostile worships, did come into possession of a high monotheistic faith. There were long periods in this history, as is evidenced over and over again, when this faith did not seem to have a commanding hold upon multitudes of the Jewish people. According to their own records, they were scourged time and again on account of their tendency to lapse into idolatry. Indeed, these lapses are evidences in themselves of the traditional affinities of this people. The idolatrous tendencies of Israel were never finally purged away until the nation underwent the bitter chastisement of the Babylonian captivity. We

shall, however, look in vain to any other nation for so lofty a faith as that which was finally developed in Judea. Babylon and Egypt were each vastly more learned, more scientific, more politically powerful, than the Hebrew nation. But this nation developed a great priesthood whose services were devoted to conducting and promoting among the people the worship of the Most High God. Under this worship there was created a ritual the most elaborate, the most impressive and awe-inspiring of any which had ever been used in human worship. In connection with this great faith there arose a succession of prophets, men of heroic mold, teachers whose calls to righteous living were like God's clarion to the conscience of the nation, a succession of men whose inspired messages so searched man's sense of duty as to give them a secure rank in all subsequent ages as the greatest moral leaders of mankind. Under this faith there also arose a litany of inspired song, the most transcendent ever used in worship. Worship in its highest reaches of confidence and joy has always uttered itself in a rhapsody of song. The literature of the Church is rich in hymns which could have been born only from the highest moods of gifted and devout singers; but for songs that voice the divine glory, goodness, and mercy—songs that reflect every mood of the worshipful soul, and which strike true to universal human experience—the ancient psaltery of Israel has never been surpassed and will never be superseded. In a sense and measure realized by no other minds of the ancient world, it would seem indeed that the Hebrew priest, prophet, and singer were messengers of divinest truth to men.

How did the Hebrew nation come into possession of its distinctive and exalted faith? In the last analysis, there can be but one answer to this question. It was the Spirit of God moving in upon Hebrew thought. This, however, is not to define the method of the divine procedure. It is quite conceivable, and altogether probably the fact, that God wrought his great inspirations of truth into Hebrew thought by methods so apparently natural as not easily to be distinguished from man's own mental processes. Indeed, they were man's own processes, only under the awakening of special illumination. Whatever the method of illumination, the growth of intelligent faith under its influence, as the whole history illustrates, was a gradual, much of the time a very slow, development. There is a vast difference between the best faith of Moses and that of Isaiah. At first Jehovah dwelt at Sinai. Later his dwelling place was Jerusalem, which became the city of the Great King. It was a long time before God seemed to be spoken of as other than the God of Israel, the God of the Jewish people. But in times of the later prophets the conception of God had vastly grown. He was the God of all nations, the righteous Ruler of the entire world.

My belief is that God's processes in revelation are much as his processes in nature, vital and, for the most part, not attended with spectacular phenomena. I believe that God's usual method of revelation is through natural psychic processes. Upon this point, however, I do not care overmuch to philosophize. I believe that the revelation is a divine process, whether it is manifest in the lightning flash of Sinai, or comes on the hush

of night as a still small voice. There was a time, a period somewhere, at which some prophetic mind clearly conceived of God as a being exalted and distinct above all the gods of surrounding idolatries. The idea of Jewish monotheism, on a less or larger scale, in a crude or more perfect form, must have had a distinct genesis. The story of Abraham being divinely called to migrate from a far land to Canaan, that there he might found the dynasty of a new faith, is sublimely beautiful. Whatever may be concluded concerning the historic personality of Abraham, the story itself stands for a great truth. The name Abraham is sublimely historic, it stands at the head of a great moral epoch, the beginning of a new monotheism in the world.

The luminous and supreme doctrine of Christian theism of to-day, a doctrine which like a mighty river bears upon its bosom the entire structure of Christian truth, can be traced for its origin far beyond Moses to prehistoric times. It cannot be doubted that the beginnings of this faith arose in minds of special discernment. The presence of God, the God who is in all his world, manifested itself as a revelation to these souls in their moments of highest insight and illumination. And this is a rational view of revelation. It is a view in harmony with the sanest philosophy of thought. It does not mean that revelation in its beginnings arose on the human mind full-orbed like the morning sun. It does not mean that divine truth was delivered to human thought in amplified and completed statement. It does not the less mean that to exceptional and devout minds in moments of highest insight the self-revealing God became manifest. This manifestation was a rev-

elation, the unfolding, to these minds of a truth which thereafter was to take a distinctive and ever-enlarging place in the world's thought and conviction. This truth, in its first apprehension, in comparison to the fullness of its significance, could have been no more than the faintest dawn which heralds the coming day. It was a truth the very history of which evidences a slow development from small beginnings. Multitudes of the people, certainly in the earlier centuries of Israelitish life, seemed to have for this truth only slight appreciation; for, as we have seen, they were constantly lapsing from its high demands. But this fact, upon the other hand, serves to illustrate the force with which the monotheistic faith held the controlling minds of Israel; for, though pressed upon every side by the habits and thought of traditional idolatry, this faith never lost its place in the convictions of the prophetic and priestly leaders of the people.

A standing obstacle in the way of a rational treatment of the beginnings of Hebrew history is that the traditional view has given almost no place in that history for the play of mythological and legendary factors. The roots of all ancient civilization are found to strike deeply into mythological soil. Investigation has confirmed this truth as applied to the civilizations of the far East, and we know that the histories of Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome emerge from backgrounds of myth and are conveyed through legendary channels. From the standpoint of natural development there seems no reason why Israelitish history should be an exception to this general law. And, indeed, it is not an exception. It has only been falsely treated as such. It is now indubi-

tably proven that many of the stories which appear in the earlier records of the Old Testament were simply taken over and adapted from older mythical or legendary sources, and that they are not to be taken at face value as sober and measured history.

In the common thought Genesis has been received as the oldest Hebrew literature. It has been assumed that Moses was its author, and that it is so inspired as to admit of no statements not historically and literally true. If these assumptions were correct, then, indeed, they would rightly exclude all mythical statements from the Genesis record. But, in the sense in which these assumptions were held, they are denied, and universally so, by modern critical thought. In the first place, Genesis in its compilation and present form is one of the most recent books of the Old Testament. While it deals with much that pertains to the Mosaic era, and may in part present matter of which possibly Moses was the recorder, yet the book was not, and could not have been, written by the hand of Moses. That the book is inspired, and thus divinely used, is not to be denied. But that it is inspired in such sense as to put the stamp of divine veracity upon all that it narrates, is an assumption which need not be urged.

Genesis is divided into an order of sequence which would be very naturally assumed by an ancient writer who would undertake to record a history of the world's first things. It begins with an account of creation, including man. Its first period, a period indeed sufficiently abounding in fable, ends at the flood. The antediluvian race waxed wicked upon the earth, so much so that it repented God that he had made man. But

one righteous man remains, Noah. To him God committed the building of an ark, and the gathering into it in pairs samples of all the animal world, and finally his own family, preparatory to a universal flood by which God would destroy a wicked race. It was thus that God miraculously preserves only a single family, which, starting the race anew, should be the progenitors of prophetic peoples yet to come. Later, diverse languages prevailed in the human race. The philosophy is explained in the story of Babel, an enterprise which God rebuked by confounding the common language and scattering the tribes. The next great epoch embraces the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and their posterity, the covenant characters from whom finally was to spring the Israelitish nation.

Now, this is a program of providential order such as would naturally appeal to a late but unscientific Jewish writer who might seek to record from their beginnings the historic steps which preceded the establishment of the Hebrew nation. This diagram is spectacular with the movement of forces which could only be directed by Almighty power. The creation, the deluge, the dispersion of tongues, the call of Abraham, and the guidance of patriarchal history were indeed acts worthy of the great God of the Hebrews. But the God who directs these marvelous events is not a God limited to the conception of Moses. He is God as seen in the vision of the later prophets. But, critically viewed, all of these events are clothed more in a traditional than in a historic drapery. The form in which these stories are cast is Hebrew, and they are religiously employed by the prophetic and priestly writers to illustrate the

creative cast and the providential guidance in human events of Jehovah, the God of Israel. But most of these stories themselves did not originate in the Hebrew thought. The narratives of creation, of paradise, and of the flood are all, in their main substance, borrowed from the older traditions of Babylon. Whatever may have been the process of absorption, however possibly unconscious to the men who gave final shape to the book of Genesis, the evidence is irresistible that the Hebrews adopted these Babylonian traditions, and, purging them of their polytheistic features, made them subsidiary to their monotheistic faith. That under this transformation they are made to serve high religious uses is doubtless true; but to associate with these narratives a kind of inspiration compatible only with their historic genuineness is inadmissible.

The attributed longevity of the antediluvians is a narrative which has its parallels in the mythology of nearly all ancient peoples. Josephus, after having defended the great longevity of these ancients, says: "Let no one, upon comparing the lives of the ancients with our lives, and with the few years which we now live, think that what we have said of them is false. . . . Now I have for witness to what I have said, all those that have written Antiquities, both among the Greeks and the Barbarians." Then he proceeds to cite many authorities who relate that the ancients of their respective races lived to the period of a thousand years.

Reared in an atmosphere of reverential respect for all statements to be found in the Bible, and far from the bias of natural or inherited skepticism, I early began to experience difficulty with some of the narratives of

the Old Testament. I found myself able to be reconciled with many statements only on the ground that these early ages were under the reign of miracle and of exceptional wonder-working power. As I came to have a wider knowledge of history the suggestion came to me with increasing and disturbing force that there seemed certainly to be much in the early Hebrew narratives quite akin with the prehistoric traditions of other ancient peoples. I was not a critical student. I was not prepared to coördinate or to understand these apparent similarities in the traditions of other people as related to Bible history. Personally, in these later years, I have been helped to great mental restfulness on all these questions by my readings in the field of scientific biblical study. I have been forced to modify many of my early notions about the Bible, but at no expense to its real values, which seem to me more precious and more luminous than ever before. I have learned to accept the fact that the Bible, as other great literatures, takes into itself the elements of social development, including tradition and fable, and, however it may be shot through with the sun-rays of inspiration, it is a book very human in its character, faithfully reflecting the thought-processes, early and late, of the races with which it deals.

Keeping close company with this view must ever go the memory that in this record are to be clearly traced God's movements and relations with humanity. A revelation is enshrined in this history. Through divinely kindled souls God was gradually making himself known to that far-off, infantile world. It was not yet full morning. The most luminous minds did not possess

noonday knowledge. There was no inspiration which was to stand in lieu of historic truth. It would be easy for the most gifted religious teacher to make wrong inferences as to matters of fact, and to use even tradition and fable as the basis of spiritual lessons.

In judging these ancient Scriptures, then, we must not treat them unfairly. We must not expect them to meet modern standards of thought and knowledge. They were written in ages destitute of trained scientific minds. These were ages abounding in tradition and myth, but the passion and appliances for a critical examination of historic foundations were not yet developed. These were ages when the great mysteries of life and of nature were pictorially conceived and expressed in terms of poetry. And we may not forget that these Scriptures come to us under the impress, stamped through and through their very texture, of the Oriental mind and imagination. As Professor Kent has vividly put it: "The background of the Old Testament is the ancient East—the age and land of wonder, mystery, and intuition, far removed from the logical, rushing world in which we live. The Old Testament contains a vast and complex literature, filled with the thoughts and figures, and cast in the quaint language of the Semitic past. Between us and that past there lie not merely long centuries, but the wide gulf that is fixed between the East and the West."

When, then, we find the ancient writers of Genesis using current traditions and myths as the bases on which they superimposed the morals of the Hebrew faith we need not be surprised. It was not the function of inspiration to reveal to these writers the origin of

creation. When they would give a philosophy of first things they simply laid hold upon the story of creation which had been passed down to them through the channel of ancient tradition. This story they stripped of its polytheistic atmosphere and dress and made it the basis of the monotheistic creation. The same principle holds true of the stories of the longevity of the antediluvians, of the flood, and of much that enters into the patriarchal narratives. The writers of Genesis had no authentic knowledge of a flood. They simply took the tradition and made it the basis of a great homily on righteousness. They may have believed fully that they were stating history, but the significant thing is that they used the material in hand for the purpose of illustrating God's righteous anger against wickedness, and his providential care and protection for those who were obedient to his laws. And this is what we are to look for in these ancient writers—not history, not science, but a revelation of the righteous God through moral law.

Viewed from this standpoint, the use of these prehistoric incidents is not only significant, but most natural and legitimate. Among all the intellectual possessions of the age, these were the most striking and wonderful. Than these there were no loftier headlands of imagination with which the inspired thinker could associate the divine movements. And when we come to measure fairly the moral lessons illustrated in these narrations: the sublimity of the creative acts ascribed to God; the making of man in God's own image; the profound psychology of the story of the first transgression; the demands and penalties of righteous law, and the certainty

of God's providential relations to the world as illustrated in the statement of the flood; God's guidance and purpose in human history as shown in the patriarchal stories—looked at from this plane we can see that these early narratives not only had a vivid interest in themselves, but they were properly seized upon as a fitting background from which to project upon the ancient world the best revelation then possible of the one true God. In this light these stories have a superlative value, and are of imperishable interest to mankind.

I have not proposed to myself to attempt a critical discussion of the traditional, but nonhistorical, elements that enter into the Genesis narrative. Among these the story of the flood is prominent. The scientific survey of this story has been convincingly written by many scholars. I have thought that, in bringing this chapter to a close, I may render no better service than to quote quite in full Professor Driver's discussion of the flood story as given in his commentary on the book of Genesis:

> Has there been a Universal Deluge? Until comparatively recent times, the belief in a Deluge covering the whole world, and destroying all terrestrial animals and men except those preserved in the ark, was practically universal among Christians. Not only did this seem to be required by the words of the narrative (6. 17; 7. 4, 21–23), but the fossil remains of marine animals, found sometimes even on lofty mountains, and the existence of traditions of a Flood among nations living in many different parts of the world, were confidently appealed to as confirmatory of the fact. But the rise, within the last century, of a science of geology has shown that the occurrence of a universal Deluge, since the appearance of man upon the earth, is beyond the range of physical possibility; while the principles of comparative mythology show that the traditions of a Flood current in different parts of the world do not necessarily perpetuate the memory of a single historical event. (1) If "all the high hills under the whole heaven" (7. 19) were covered, there must, by the most elementary principles of hydrostatics, have been *five miles depth* of water over the

entire globe: whence could this incredible amount of water have come, and whither, when the Flood abated, could it have disappeared? Even, indeed, though the expression in 7.19 were taken hyperbolically, or limited to the mountains known to the writer, the difficulty would not be materially diminished: it is clear from 8. 4, 5 that the writer pictured an immense depth of water upon the earth: and even if only Palestine, and the mountains (not the highest) in Armenia were submerged, it must have risen to at least 3,000 feet; and water standing 3,000 feet above the sea in Palestine or Armenia implies 3,000 feet of water in every other part of the globe—an amount incredible in itself, besides involving, quite as fully as five miles of water would do, all the difficulties mentioned below. No doubt there was a time when hills and mountains were submerged, and when the remains of marine animals referred to above were deposited on what was then the bottom of the sea; but, as geology shows, that was in an age long anterior to the appearance of man upon the earth, and the period of submergence must have lasted, not for a single year, but for untold centuries. (2) Without the assumption of a stupendous miracle (for which there is not the smallest warrant in the words of the text), all species of living terrestrial animals (including many peculiar to distant continents and islands, and others adapted only to subsist in the torrid or frigid zone, respectively) could not have been brought to Noah, or so far tamed as to have refrained from attacking each other, and to have submitted peaceably to Noah. (3) The number of living species of terrestrial animals is so great that it is physically impossible that room could have been found for them in the ark. (4) A universal Deluge is inconsistent with the geographical distribution of existing land animals: for different continents and islands have each many species of animals peculiar to themselves—South America, for example, has the sloth and the armadilla, Australia has marsupials, New Zealand strange wingless birds; but if all land animals were destroyed at a date when these continents and islands were separated from one another substantially as they are now, how could the representatives of all these species have found their way back over many thousands of miles of land *and sea* to their present habitations? (5) If the entire human race, except Noah and his family, were destroyed at the same date, the widely different races, languages, and civilizations of Babylonia, Egypt, India, China, Australia, America—to say nothing of other countries—*cannot be accounted for:* for the races inhabiting these countries, if they ever lived together in a common home, could not have developed the differences which they exhibit, unless they had started migrating from it centuries, and indeed millennia, before either B. C. 2501 or B. C. 3066; moreover, in the case of at least Babylonia and Egypt, we possess monumental evidence that civilization in these

countries *existed continuously*, without a break, *from a period long anterior* to either of these dates.

Upon these grounds—to which others might be added—the supposition that the Deluge of Noah was a universal one, is, it is evident, out of the question, and has indeed been generally abandoned.

Even, however, the attempt which has been often made to regard the Deluge as a "partial" one is beset by difficulties. Certainly there would be no objection, upon scientific grounds, to the supposition that there was, about B. C. 2500, an extensive and destructive local inundation in the lower part of the plain of Babylonia; but an inundation such as this *does not satisfy the terms of the narrative of Genesis*. The waters are described as rising at least as high as "mountains of Ararat" (8. 5), the lowest of which are more than 2,500 feet above the plain of Babylonia. (2) The narrative speaks repeatedly of every living thing which had been created, including in particular all mankind, as having been destroyed. But a flood confined to the plain of Babylonia would certainly not have destroyed all animals upon the earth: it is, moreover, certain—to say nothing of India, China, and other parts—that long before B. C. 2501 mankind had spread as far as Egypt, and had established an important civilization there, which obviously could not have been affected by a flood, however extensive, in Babylonia. It is manifest that a flood which would submerge Egypt as well as Babylonia must have risen to at least 2,000 feet (the height of the elevated country between them), and have thus been in fact a universal one (which has been shown to be impossible): a flood, on the other hand, which did less than this is *not what the biblical writers describe*, and would not have accomplished what is represented as having been the entire *raison d'être* of the Flood, the destruction of all mankind. We are forced, consequently, to the conclusion that the Flood, *as described by the biblical writers*, is unhistorical.

OLD TESTAMENT ORIGINS

The great Old Testament scholars of the past half-century have most of them been critics, and they have performed a monumental work. . . .

It has been now established as a fixed principle of hermeneutics that the Bible must be interpreted just as any other book is. Our inquiry, as we study it, must always be, not, What could this verse or passage be? but, What did it mean? or, What does it mean? From this principle there is no escape. The thinking world will tolerate none other. But this new attitude, valuable at it may be in itself, has still increased our difficulties. For it has shown that the sacred writers were enmeshed in the transient customs and thought of their own time to an extent that had not been realized before. . . .

The great task of the interpreter of any ancient work is to determine the conditions of life and thought under which it originated. This is in no case an easy task. But, if our critics are to be trusted, it is especially difficult in the case of the Old Testament. For its books are very few of them unities. In some instances several documents of varying ages have been united together, and in others extensive interpolations from a later date have been made, so that single chapters, yea, single verses, are divided up among different authors that lived centuries apart. The question, therefore, of the intelligibility of the Old Testament, particularly to the average reader, is a serious matter. . . .

It is to modern scholarship that the lot has fallen of grappling with this problem of the intelligibility of the Old Testament in a seemingly final way. Its labors have been characterized by unrestrained freedom and by an astonishing thoroughness. Its resources both in the form of method and of material seem almost unlimited. It would take volumes, indeed it has taken whole libraries, to record all that has been done in the field of textual criticism, of philology, and of archæology, simply for the purpose of making this ancient literature more intelligible to us.—Professor Albert C. Knudson.

CHAPTER VIII

OLD TESTAMENT ORIGINS

The canon of the Old Testament, embracing the books as we now have them, was not completed till about the close of the first Christian century. It consists of what were originally known as three distinct selections of books—the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. The first group composed the Pentateuch, and this was canonized some time, probably early, in the fourth century B. C. In the second group were included, in a first division, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. In a second division were Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets. The canonization of this group was gradual, the first four books being probably admitted about 300 B. C., while the entire list was not completed earlier than 200 B. C. The third group, consisting of the Old Testament books not above named, called the Writings, also spoken of as "the rest of the books," found its way into the canon by slow admissions. Various parts of the Psalter, for instance, were received at different times, until finally the collection as we now have it was complete.

The book of Daniel, as late written, was one of the last of the prophetical books to be received. The canon was closed by the admission of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. While it is to be acknowledged that some of these books have a much higher religious value than others, yet the collection as a whole was made up, as both the process and the quality of results attest,

on a very lofty standard of selection, a standard supported by the highest religious sense of the nation.

There is evidence that the canon as now preserved was selected from a comparatively large Hebrew literature, but it is of interest to note that nearly all of this literature outside of the Old Testament has perished. There is a mass of Jewish writings now extant in Greek, in which is included the Old Testament Apocrypha. Some of the apocryphal writings are of high religious value, and anciently, especially among the Alexandrian Jews, it was strongly felt that these should be admitted to the canon. It may also be said that this Alexandrian judgment is not without support from many competent modern scholars.

In the canon of the Old Testament, as in a precious cabinet containing the crown jewels of a kingdom, we have preserved to us the records of God's revelation to the Hebrew people, and through this people to the entire world. A work, a very divine work, a work yielding results of inestimable value, to which God has been calling modern scholarship, is the task of discovering the real history and the chronological order of the writings of the Old Testament. It is only as these facts are ascertained that the writings themselves can, on critical examination, be made to yield a satisfactory account of themselves as literature, and, what is of far greater importance, render a consistent development of the processes of revelation itself. It has come to be an imperative, almost an axiomatic, demand of modern philosophy that all great movements of human thought and history shall come under a law of progressive development. It has long been widely and profoundly felt

that the process of revelation, as conditioned by the mental growth of the race, can be no exception to this demand.

But on the assumption, for instance, that one writer was the author of the five books of the Pentateuch, it is evident to the casual reader that as these writings now stand in the canon they yield no satisfactory evidence of either historic order or of progressive revelation. They present in brief compass, and not with freedom from confusion, many varieties of literary style, diverse conditions of civilization, and laws which for simultaneous administration would certainly conflict with themselves.

It is the conclusion of critical scholarship that the literature embraced in the Pentateuch is the product more nearly of a thousand years rather than the writings of a single author. It has long been noted that the historic books of the Old Testament often give different and varied narratives of the same events. Thus in Genesis, through the first chapter to the fourth verse of the second chapter, and then from the fourth verse to the end of chapter two, are two distinct accounts of creation. In the essential facts stated these two accounts agree; but to the critical reader their literary style is so diverse as to make it seem improbable that the two could have sprung from the same author. In form they seem also not to belong to the same age of literary composition. In the group of chapters (11. 10 to 25. 20) giving the Abrahamic stories, there can be traced at least "nine examples of duplicate versions." Also in the later group of stories in which Joseph appears as the chief figure there is evidence of at least

nine other duplicate statements. Professor Driver, in his Introduction to Genesis, says: "The book of Genesis presents two groups of sections, distinguished from each other by differences of phraseology and style, and often also by accompanying differences of representation, so marked, so numerous, and so recurrent, that they can only be accounted for by the supposition that the groups in which they occur are not both the work of the same hand." It is to be noted that these distinct groups characterize in a very marked degree not only Genesis, but the entire first six books of the Old Testament.

So true is this that if the group represented by the first citation (Gen. 1. 1 to 2. 4) were separated from all other matter contained in the Hexateuch, this group by itself would be found to form a very nearly complete narrative, giving an account especially of the origins and institutions of the Hebrews.

The evident presence of these diverse features in the literary body of the Old Testament as early as a century and a half ago led to the beginnings of what is now familiarly known as the "documentary hypothesis." This hypothesis assumes that the early Hebrew writings are based originally upon different preëxisting documents, which have gone through successive processes of collection and combination until finally, by later editors, they have been gathered into one narrative. The inference would also seem clear that in the development of the narratives the editors themselves felt free to give to the various documents such revision as in their judgment might be required for harmonizing the narratives as a whole.

Dr. W. G. Jordan, professor of Hebrew and Old Testa-

ment exegesis in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, a recognized authority in this field, says: "The most important contribution that Old Testament criticism has given to the world is no doubt the 'documentary theory,' or, in other words, the theory that the Pentateuch is not the product of one writer or of one generation, but consists of four different documents, which had their origin in different ages and circumstances. This is now pretty generally regarded as one of the 'assured results' of scientific research." He further says: "It is now generally held that in the first five books of the Bible we have represented different kinds of literature, various stages of history, and diverse types of theology, prophecy, and law. Strange as it may seem at first, it becomes clearer the more the matter is looked into that the first chapter of the Bible is, in its present form, one of the latest parts in this wonderful collection, and that in order to gain a scientific view of the growth and advancement of Hebrew religious thought and life the material must be arranged in a form quite different from that which we find in our ordinary Bible."

I shall attempt now to present a brief and intelligent outline of the "documentary theory" in the acceptance of which there seems to be general agreement among recognized biblical scholars. The theory is built on the basis of four distinct documents, or groups of documents, which furnish the original material from which the books of the Pentateuch, and, indeed, most of the historical books of the Old Testament, are constructed. These documents have so long had an interrelated history that the outlines lying between them cannot always in all features be distinctly traced. They have

been much edited, in parts often combined with each other, and finally they were editorially interwoven to make up the literary body of the Old Testament in its present form. The four main documents were not only respectively the products of different periods and of different schools of thought; but the documents themselves embodied traditions which far antedated the periods of their own composition. As fossil remains in the geographical strata, so in these are often found reminders of far-away traditions, the telltale reproductions of prehistoric life. Yet, whatever the fusion of these documents in minor relations, however great the difficulty here and there of assigning to its right group a given passage, the documents themselves in their individual distinctness are now seen to run, like parallel ranges, throughout the entire historical fields of Old Testament literature.

The oldest of the documents in the order of production is that which specially contains the "Judean prophetic" narratives. These narratives were composed with special reference to Judah and the southern kingdom. They are called "prophetic" because written from the standpoint and with the aims of the early prophets. These narratives are sometimes called "Jehovistic," because Jehovah is the name which they usually applied to the Deity in contradistinction to the term "Elohim" as employed in the priestly narratives. These narratives, beginning with the account of creation, deal in the traditions leading up to Israelitish history, and with that history itself to a period as late as the death of David. Their purpose is to give a connected history, from earliest beginnings, of the covenant people of

Jehovah. They seize hold of traditions from whatever source if they illustrate Israel's early history, or Jehovah's relations to his people. The style of these narratives is vivid, pictorial, often poetical. Their conception of God is highly anthropomorphic. They picture the Deity coming in familiar form and manner into frequent contact with men. Their measurement of sin is largely regulated by the personal loyalty or otherwise of man to God as his friend. Adam and Eve were sinners, not because it was wrong in itself to eat the forbidden fruit, but because they were personally disobedient to God's demand. Abraham was an ideal character, known as the "Friend of God," because he was responsive to Jehovah's will. These narratives lay very little stress upon forms and ceremonies, but emphasize religion as vitally expressing itself in an attitude of obedience as shown in just and loving acts.

The many different stories embodied in these narratives, some of them evidently reflecting "exceedingly primitive ideas and usages, while others in language and representation are related to the writings of a maturer age," indicate that their material was gathered from many different sources and representative of widely different periods. The probabilities are that the work of collecting these stories was not that of one man, but of a school of prophets. The narratives of the Judean document run through the books of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and represent more than one third the total contents of these books. The prophetic writing of the history contained in this document was probably begun about 825 B. C. Its main body was completed at a period

not much later than the eighth century. The contents of this document, however, were subject to the review, revision, and addition of late prophetic writers, and evidence appears that supplementary additions were from time to time made to the original document down to a period as late as 650 B. C. For purposes of convenient identification this document is designated in critical works as "J."

The second document in the order of development is that which is sometimes termed the "Elohistic prophetic," so entitled because up to the record of the divine revelation to Moses it applies to Deity the name "Elohim." This document originated with the prophets of the northern kingdom, and as a chief designation of this kingdom was "Ephraim," the title "Ephraimite prophetic" is a very fitting one for its narratives. These narratives begin with the divine covenant with Abraham (Gen. 15). They run largely parallel with the Judaic stories, but lay much more emphasis upon the characters and incidents of the northern kingdom than is true of the Judean narratives. This document gives evidence of being somewhat later in its composition than its Judean parallel. Its writers lay great stress upon the theocratic character of Israel, and emphasize the importance to the national life of the prophetic function. The prophet as the mouthpiece of God to the people is greatly more an important character than either secular ruler or priest. The purport largely of the writing is to impress the lesson that when the nation has listened to the voice of God's messenger, the prophet, prosperity and blessings have ensued, and that when this voice has been disregarded disaster has resulted. The anthropomorphic

conception of Deity as set forth in the Judean is almost entirely absent from these Ephraimite narratives. Only to Moses does God show himself face to face. The prophet stands between God and the people as the bearer of the divine message. In the view of these northern writers, as apparently distinct from the southern standpoint, the ancestors of the Hebrews were idolaters. The most probable date to be assigned to the collection of these narratives is about the middle of the eighth century B. C. This document is critically designated as "E."

The northern kingdom fell before the Assyrians in 722 B. C. After this the southern school of prophets became the custodians of the northern records, and it is to this school that we must assign the editorial combination of the Judean and Ephraimite stories into one document. The combination of these two documents into one narrative marks one of the most providential events in the history of the Old Testament. We have thus preserved to us in their original form the oldest literary records of the Bible. It is this combination which accounts largely for the many duplicate and variant narratives which characterize the historical books of the Old Testament. The editors probably took considerable liberty with the original statements as they found them, generally in events of greatest interest retaining both narratives, frequently retaining only the seemingly better statement of an event, and sometimes transferring a narrative to a position which would seem to them better suited to the real order of events. The indications are that the combination of the documents J and E was completed before the Baby-

lonian exile, and may most probably be assigned to a date somewhere in the latter half of the seventh century B. C. This combined document is critically designated as "JE."

At a still later period, probably prior to, possibly within, the age of the Babylonian exile, the members of a school, now designated as the "late prophets," devoted themselves to reformulating and readapting the laws of Israel to the then existing conditions of national life. The body of their work appears in the book of Deuteronomy. The authorship of this book has been traditionally attributed to Moses. It deals largely with the sayings which he is made to utter, as also with laws which are assumed to have proceeded from him. Even if many of these sayings and laws found a first utterance with Moses, yet, for reasons which in themselves seem entirely convincing, it is clear, say our modern authorities, that he could not have been the author of this book. For reasons equally convincing, it is evident that the book must be the product of a period or periods far later than that of Moses. But if Moses was not the author of Deuteronomy as we now have it, what are we to think of the character of its real author, who seems to speak as though he were uttering at first hand the very words of Moses? It should be first borne in mind that the book nowhere directly claims Moses as its author. A further fact is that the practice of attributing direct sayings to prominent characters is a very common usage among Old Testament, and indeed other ancient, writers. In the book of Chronicles, David and Solomon, for instance, are often made to express themselves through ideas

and idioms which are of a distinctly later age than their own. The author of Deuteronomy, then, would be guilty of no violence against the accepted literary customs of his times in putting his own words into the mouth of Moses. Especially is this true when we remember that he was actuated by no thought of himself as a mere inventor of the matter which he wrote. He doubtless was dealing with a body of utterances and laws already ancient. It was a body of sacred tradition which had come down from the highest sources. In the emergencies that were now upon the nation the counsels of its greatest lawgiver, and especially the highest moral statutes for the government of Israel, required reiteration in direct and intensified form, in a form adapted to meet the tendencies of the particular age to which this prophet-author—possibly school of authors—addressed himself.

The nation had most ungratefully fallen away from God into corrupting idolatries. It was already suffering, and was perhaps to suffer further, the dreadful penalties of apostasy. It was a time for the sharpest arraignment of transgressors, and for prophetic summons of the nation to righteousness. The sinning people needed to be stirred to a sense of their sinfulness as under the lightning flashes and thunder-trumpets of Sinai. The God of Israel had been a covenant-keeping God. He had never failed in his regard for his covenant people. He had been Father, Friend, and Protector to them always. When the people were obedient to his commandments the nation had been strong, prosperous, and happy. It was only the departure of the nation from his righteous ways that had brought down upon

itself the stroke and the scourge of disaster. The voice to Israel was: "What doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, to keep the commandments of the Lord, and his statutes."

It was in the spirit of a recall to righteousness of a sinning and apostate nation that the book of Deuteronomy was written. And, though it voiced chiefly an old message, it came now clothed in the clearest spiritual thought, and with the loftiest moral appeals of any prophetic message which thus far in its national history had come to Israel. And Deuteronomy, while it takes up into itself very much from preceding thought and suggestion, is distinct. It is the product of special conditions, of an age and a school which stand by themselves. It represents, on the whole, the highest plane of prophetical inspiration yet reached by Israel's teachers. The influence of the law school of prophets from which this book sprang makes itself decisively felt in the Old Testament books which were produced contemporaneously or subsequent to its own appearance. The date of its origin is probably not far from the middle of the sixth century B. C. The document which bears the stamp of this school of prophetic authorship is designated as "D."

Of the four fundamental documents which underlie the historic books of the Old Testament, the last in the order of development is that which contains the priestly narratives. Until in comparatively recent times the narratives which are grouped under this document were supposed to represent the oldest records in Hebrew

literature. The reversal of this view, however, is now universally accepted by the critical schools. The evidence is well-nigh conclusive that neither the authors of J, E, nor D know anything whatsoever of P. This, however, is but one of many features which prove that in the order of their development P is the latest of the documents. This document was composed evidently by an order of priests who wrote in the interests of maintaining a hierarchical construction of the Israelitish theocracy. Its style is without poetry. It is written in defense of institutions and rites. Its authors were lovers of law and ritual. They idealized the stories of the earlier Judean prophetic narratives, and the laws as designated in Deuteronomy, translating them in terms of ultra-priestly conception. Without the knowledge which would qualify them for the task of the critical historian, they doubtless sincerely believed that the usages and laws which they so idealized had been in vogue since the foundations of their national history. Their class preferences and habits of mind were such as to lead them to magnify the priestly elements in the national religion. They exalted Moses into a character altogether in excess of what would be justified by the other records, making of him a very demigod. "With the exception of the Sabbath and circumcision, all of Israel's laws and institutions, from the earliest to the latest, are traced directly to him." The anthropomorphic views of God so current in the prophetic narratives are entirely absent from this document. God is emphasized as a Spirit, omnipotent, not working through mediating processes, but both creating and governing at will by the fiat of his word. At Sinai are seen and

heard the lightning and the thunders of his power, but his personality is veiled in clouds and mystery.

The writers of this document are doubtless of the influential priestly class belonging to the period of the Babylonian exile. Numerous features of the narratives would indicate the contact of these writers with Babylonish thought. Many of the ceremonial types enjoined are such as are known to have been shared by the later Jews and the Babylonians. Its stories of creation and the flood show a decidedly Babylonish origin. The idealizing, under priestly prepossessions, of the early history is a process that might be very natural to men who themselves were dwelling apart from the direct movements of the national life. The probabilities are that the narratives of this document were not all written in one close period. Like all other narratives which have been discussed, these would be gathered gradually, and would be subject from time to time to new additions and to editorial emendations. They were probably substantially completed at some time during the latter half of the fifth century B. C. This document is designated as "P."

There remains to be noted one other step in the final process of securing the early books of the Old Testament in the form in which we now have them. This is the editorial work by which were united in a common product the narratives of the priestly document with the already combined prophetic narratives. This final work bears evidence of having been done by one or more of the priestly order. While it is evident that this editorial worker—or workers—was interested especially to preserve the integrity of the priestly narratives,

yet the service rendered was of the highest possible importance, for to it we are doubtless indebted for the preservation of the older traditions of Hebrew history. The canonization of the first five books of the Old Testament followed soon after this work, and not later than 200 B. C. the entire first eight books of the Old Testament were in the canon, and thus to the present time the integrity of their form has been sacredly and jealously guarded.

Thus, in this chapter I have endeavored to reflect concisely and faithfully the story of the documentary theory of the Old Testament historical books as this theory is now held by the schools of biblical criticism. I am, of course, quite aware of the application of the critical process to all the books of the Old Testament. It would be interesting to traverse this process in its relations, for instance, to Isaiah and to Daniel. But while it seems indubitable that Isaiah cannot be the work of a single author, but the product of different authors and of distinct periods, and that Daniel is certainly one of the latest books of the Old Testament, I have not deemed it necessary for my present purpose to pursue a further delineation of this critical work; nor have I thought it of importance that I should make any detailed statement of points in which I might agree with, or dissent from, the critical positions as above set forth.

A final and general word should perhaps be given concerning the documentary theory itself. The results which this theory presents require for the full appreciation of their value and significance a careful and judicial mental survey of the processes from which

they have sprung. These processes have not been haphazard; they have not been developed impulsively, or by rapid hothouse methods, in accordance with the demands of any one school of critics. They represent more than a century of sifting and painstaking work by many scholarly groups, and of widely sundered countries. There is not a single step in what are now accepted as "assured results" which has not been stoutly challenged. Every conclusion reached has been first tested as in furnace fires. All the ground has been traversed and retraversed by both friends and foes. Nothing has been accepted as settled until it has met the requirements of overwhelming tests. The history of this theory shows that many hypotheses have been proposed which in turn have had to be rejected. This is but a repetition in history of what has been true in the establishment of all great working laws. Kepler spent many years, years of enormous toil, in ascertaining the laws of the planetary motions. In these years he tried many tentative hypotheses, most of which he had to abandon. But he profited by his very miscalculations. His pursuit brought him ever nearer to the truth. Finally he found the true key to the law of the heavens. He had put a new book in the canon of science. In his exultation he could say: "The die is cast, the book is written to be read now or by posterity, I care not which. It may well wait a century for a reader, since God has waited six thousand years for a discoverer." So it may be said of the documentary theory of the Old Testament. It so fully meets the demands of literary criticism, it has been reached through so long and careful processes

of investigation, it so represents the convergent results wrought by different schools of workers, it has such general approval by critical authorities, as to make it utterly improbable that the theory itself will ever be displaced. This is not to say that in details it may not be further developed and revised; but a knowledge of this theory will henceforth remain a *sine qua non* to the intelligent understanding of the historical books of the Old Testament.

NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM

I believe the four Gospels are genuine; for I see in them an emanation of that greatness which proceeded from the person of Christ, such as was never before manifested on earth.—GOETHE.

It is more inconceivable that several men should have united to forge the gospel than that a single person should have furnished the subject of it. The marks of its truth are so striking and inimitable that the inventor would be more astonishing than the hero.—ROUSSEAU.

The higher criticism is but a name for scientific scholarship scientifically used. Grant such scholarship legitimate, and the legitimacy of its use to all fit subjects must also be granted. Nobody denies, nobody even doubts, the legitimacy of its application to classical or ethnic literature, the necessity or the excellence of the work it has done, or, where the material allowed of it, the accuracy of the results it has achieved. . . . To grant that many of its conclusions are arbitrary, provisional, or problematical, is simply to say that it is a human science, created by men, worked by men, yet growing ever more perfect with their mastery of their material. Now, the Scriptures either are or are not fit subjects for scholarship. If they are not, then all sacred scholarship has been and is a mistake, and they are a body of literature possessed of the inglorious distinction of being incapable of being understood. If they are, then the more scientific the scholarship the greater its use in the field of Scripture, and the more it is reverently exercised on a literature that can claim to be the preëminent sacred literature of the world, the more will that literature be honored. —A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

The Bible has the qualities claimed for it as an inspired book. These qualities, on the other hand, nothing but inspiration could impart. It leads to God and to Christ; it gives light on the deepest problems of life, death, and eternity; it discovers the way of deliverance from sin; it makes men new creatures; it furnishes the man of God completely for every good work. That it possesses these good qualities history and experience through all the centuries have attested; its saving, satisfying, and civilizing effects among all races of men in the world attest it still. The word of God is a "pure word." It is a true and "tried" word; a word never found wanting by those who rest themselves upon it. The Bible that embodies this word will retain its distinction as *the Book of Inspiration* till the end of time.—PROFESSOR JAMES ORR.

CHAPTER IX

NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM

The long-drawn battle of the critics has been fought largely around the foundations of the New Testament. As to the vital character of the New Testament literature, no testimony could be more emphatic or explicit than that which is furnished in the history of the critical movement. The entire process through which the New Testament has come to us in its present form may properly be said to have been critical.

The selection of the New Testament books was a matter of slow growth, and was decided by a general spiritual consensus of the Church rather than by edict of official authority. The test on which any book was received was its assumed apostolic authorship, or at least that it be written by a man himself of apostolic character, one personally familiar with first sources of things concerning which he wrote. Mark and Luke, for instance, would meet required conditions of such authorship. The books received by common consent into the body of the New Testament, like those of the Old Testament, were made up of three distinct groups —the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, and the other books. In the order of authorship the Pauline Epistles, or at least several of them, are the oldest contributions to New Testament literature. The first general division of the accepted books included the four Gospels, Acts, thirteen Epistles ascribed to Saint Paul, the First Epistles respectively of John and Peter.

The Muratori Fragment, probably a document of the Roman Church, a very ancient manuscript discovered by Muratori at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the Ambrosian Library of Milan, which reflects most valuable light on the early history of the New Testament, includes in addition to the above Second John, the book of Revelation, and Jude. As early as 170 A. D., Hebrews, Second Peter, and Third John were also very generally used among the New Testament books. There was, however, much doubt expressed as to the genuineness of the Second and Third Epistles and the Apocalypse of John, the Epistles of Jude and of James, and especially the second of Peter. The assumed Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, while accepted by the Greek and Syrian Churches, was rejected by the Western Church. Aside from these writings, held by many to be of doubtful authority, there was a great mass of early literature consisting of Gospels, Acts, Epistles, much or all of it claiming apostolic authority. It required a truly critical process to eliminate the genuine literature from this mass. The period of uncertainty concerning books which should be admitted to the New Testament continued at least till the end of the fourth century.

The term "canon" is very commonly used in relation to the New Testament as indicating an authoritatively definite list of its accepted books. The term in this sense needs to be very guardedly used. It seems to be a historic fact that no general council of the Church ever officially decided as to the books which should make up a New Testament canon. The Council of Trent in 1546 made such a pronouncement. But the

decision of this council, so far as its critical or moral values are concerned, is not to be seriously taken by the Christian world at large. Rome at this time was disturbed by the Reformation, and had a pressing expedient demand for an authoritative statement as to the books of the Bible. It, therefore, settled its canon of the Old Testament by adding the Apocrypha to the list as we now have it; and it affirmed for the New Testament canon the list which now appears in the common Bible. This same council decreed as the "authentic" text of the Bible the Latin text in use by its leaders, though, as is well known, the Latin edition then in use was exceedingly defective in its readings and inaccurate as a translation. It is to be remembered, however, that the Council of Trent at the time of its sitting was representative of only a section of the Christian Church.

To a period as late as the end of the second century there is not the slightest historic evidence of official declaration as to the canonicity of any single book or books of the New Testament. The Synod of Hippo, in North Africa, in which Augustine was most influential, meeting in the year 393 A. D., gave its sanction to the entire list of books as they now appear. The Council of Carthage, meeting four years later, adopted the same list, the only difference being that this council ascribed to Saint Paul the authorship of fourteen Epistles, including that to the Hebrews, while the Council of Hippo left the authorship of Hebrews an open question. Neither of these councils was ecumenical in its character.

It is to be emphasized that what is termed the New Testament canon was never so much settled by the

decisions of councils as by the discriminating spiritual sense of the Church. It was by this process that there were finally winnowed and selected from a great volume of competing literature the accepted books of the New Testament. In this respect it was never the function of councils to do more than to place the final seal of official ratification upon the books thus selected. In their superlative spiritual and moral qualities the books of the New Testament are unapproached, and in their selection from associated literatures, claiming apostolic character, they certainly give evidence of the survival of the fittest, so much so that this selection itself would seem to have been guided by the spirit of highest inspiration.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM

In considering the history of the New Testament text some facts should be distinctly remembered. In the first place, not a single original manuscript, or fragment of one, of any of the books is now known to be in existence. While it is true that the New Testament rests upon far better foundations of evidence than any other ancient prose writings, we have to-day no manuscript copies earlier than the middle of the fourth century. These copies were, of course, made from still older manuscripts, but the earlier manuscripts have all perished. Second, it should be remembered that the New Testament originated long before the days of printed books. The only way by which its literary form could be preserved was through manuscript copies. For its books the Church far and near was entirely dependent upon handmade copies. A copy of the New Testament for private individual ownership

would be a rare and costly luxury. The books were, however, read in the assemblies for public worship, and were doubtless mostly held in the custody of pastors and teachers. The early Church was distributed over three continents, Asia, Africa, and Europe. With multiplying congregations the demand for manuscript copies of the New Testament was correspondingly increased.

In the process of making these many manuscripts there would naturally arise, even after making largest allowance for conscientious and painstaking care on the part of copyists, much certainty of variations and mistakes. These variations in large part would come from unintentional causes, such as misreading, failure of memory, or, in case of dictation, mishearing. But it is probable that in cases of early manuscript-making variations frequently arose from intended corrections in existing copy. These early manuscripts would fall into the hands of persons who carried in memory the oral traditions of the sayings of Christ and the apostles. Naturally, they would sometimes interpolate or write upon the margins their own memory versions of given utterances. They would feel entirely free to do this, for, it must be remembered, these New Testament documents had not in that early time acquired the status of verbally inspired writings, as was assigned to the Hebrew Scriptures. It is evident, also, that by some such process occasional passages found their way into some of the early manuscripts that had no place in the original writings, as, for instance, the narrative of the woman taken in adultery, as found in John (7. 53 to 8. 11).

The Greek manuscripts of the New Testament which

have come into possession of modern scholars are very numerous, numbering now considerably more than two thousand, and with the likelihood that still others may be discovered. In this large list of manuscripts the textual variations number more than one hundred and fifty thousand. Yet it is from this field of more than two thousand old manuscript copies, with their bewildering variations of texts, that modern scholarship is to find, if at all, the original New Testament Scriptures. This background must neither be misunderstood nor minified. The modern critic did not create it; he is in no way responsible for its existence. This is simply the existing wilderness which he must traverse if he is to reach surefootedly the original of inspired New Testament utterance.

The difficulties, however, of the situation should not be converted in popular thought into an insuperable fatality. The great wealth of documents is in itself an unqualified testimony to the priceless values of the New Testament. The true text surely lies in these multitudes of readings. Their very numbers give to the New Testament an advantage, so far as ascertaining its true meaning is concerned, over any ancient writings in existence. And, while the variations run into high numbers, a knowledge of their essential character greatly minifies a view which might otherwise exist as to their damaging qualities. Professor Hort, than whom no better authority can be quoted, estimates that of all words composing the Greek Testament fully seven eighths are established beyond doubt. The work of the textual critic, then, would be confined to the remaining one eighth. In this section a very large proportion

of the variations consists in the mere order of words and in differences of spelling—trifles in themselves. These duly considered, he thinks that the words still subject to doubt do not constitute more than one sixtieth of the New Testament. Examination of variations in this remnant shows that most of them, as affecting the meaning of the text, are of slight importance. His final judgment is that the field covering substantial variations "can hardly form more than a one-thousandth part of the entire text." The fact seems to be that all the manuscripts teach the same Christianity without impairment of either its doctrinal or moral precepts. Dr. Ezra Abbot, who in his day ranked foremost among the textual critics, asserts that "no Christian doctrine or duty rests on these portions of the text which are affected by differences in the manuscripts; still less is anything essential in Christianity touched by the various readings."

This analysis is reassuring. It is adapted to give comfort to those who, knowing merely that there is a great number of variant readings in the manuscripts, might otherwise assume that the entire structure of the New Testament is honeycombed with irreconcilable inharmonies. The great task of the textual student is hunting down through all these variations to find, if possible, the bed-rock of original utterance. The motive which prompts this pursuit is the most commendable possible. The ideal that always lures to best work is that of perfection itself. The artist cannot resign his easel while conscious that imperfections linger upon his picture. The present maker of the automobile seeks to surpass in beauty of model, in strength, in speed,

in noiseless harmony of movement, the product made by any of his competitors. For our worship we build churches of artistic costliness, and we covet for their pulpits men of finished scholarship and of persuasive utterance. Here is the New Testament, the foundation on which all Christian worship rests. If it be true that this book contains God's most precious revelation of himself to men; if it be true that its original words were written by men divinely inspired, then certainly it would seem that there could be no higher pursuit to which Christian scholarship may consecrate itself than the search for the very original New Testament word of apostle and evangelist. And this is what textual criticism means.

The importance of the work itself is only equaled by the spirit of thoroughness in which it has been prosecuted. Not only has every distinct manuscript been closely examined, but every sentence, every word, every spelling, every mark of punctuation, has been subjected to microscopic scrutiny. The work of all schools has been submitted to such cross-examination and review as to make it seem impossible that any single teacher could have escaped critical attention. This work is modern. Indeed, its possibilities did not exist until in recent times. At the period of the Reformation the number of scholars in all Europe who could read Hebrew and Greek were exceedingly few. The first printed Greek Testament in existence was that of Erasmus, published at Basle, Switzerland, in 1516. The number of manuscripts employed by Erasmus in the succeeding editions of his work did not exceed altogether more than eight. For the book of Revelation he was dependent upon a mutilated and incomplete manuscript which

he borrowed from Reuchlin. For the missing parts of this book he made a translation into poor Greek from the Latin Vulgate. The text of Erasmus was for a long period the ruling text. In 1633 the Elzevir publishers of Leyden and Amsterdam issued a Greek Testament corrected to the best of their knowledge and by such critical help as they could command. In the preface of this book they entered this statement in Latin: "Therefore thou hast the text now received by all: in which we give nothing altered or corrupt."

Thus was introduced the famous "Textus Receptus," which, with slight exceptions, was accepted for two centuries as the orthodox standard of the New Testament original. This text, as we now know, was very defective, but it was prevalently accepted until the middle of the nineteenth century. Professor Karl Lachmann, of Berlin, bringing great scholarship and ability to his task, sought in prolonged effort to restore the oldest text. He did not have at command some of the greatest aids which have since been discovered for such a work; but he established a new basis for textual criticism of the New Testament. He died in 1851. Following there appear in this field of work the illustrious names of Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott, and Hort. These have all followed in the course marked by Lachmann, but have had the great advantage of aids which to him were quite or comparatively unknown. The now famous codices, Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, and others only second in importance to these, have thrown a flood of light upon the text origins of the New Testament. The Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus especially are supposed to reflect the

original text more closely than any other manuscripts now known. The history of these codices reads like a romance. All of these manuscripts were accessible to the later workers above named.

It is not to be assumed that the work of textual revision of the New Testament is now finally complete. Other corrective sources of information may yet be discovered, but it may be confidently asserted that the field of possible corrections in the interests of a pure text has been greatly narrowed by the work of recent scholarship. These modern workers have summoned to their court of inquiry witnesses from all accessible sources, and have given most exhaustive and searching analysis to all testimony received. While there are minor points here and there of uncertainty, the general results now reached have come through processes so enlightened, and are based upon a critical judgment so unanimous, as to place their finality beyond serious question. As for the outcome of all, there can be no intelligent doubt that there is now placed at the command of every thoughtful reader of the New Testament a text more reliably in harmony with original sources than was ever before accessible. It remains to be said that only in the proportion in which a correct text of the priceless records of the New Testament is to be regarded as valuable can we find the just measure of the worth and service of that scholarship which has so far brought about this result.

LITERARY HISTORY

It is no overstatement to say that no historic movement of thought has been more significant in itself,

or has been more implicitly fraught with great moral consequences, than has that of biblical criticism. To the vital center of all this movement the New Testament has stood nearest. Its records by an instinct both of gratitude and of defense have in the common thought of the Church been most jealously cherished. It has been religiously felt that the New Testament in a distinctive and well-nigh exclusive sense embodies in itself the foundation truths of the Christian faith. It has been looked upon as something to be approached only in the most reverential spirit. There has been much in the traditional history environing the book to beget this popular feeling. It has been thought of as the infallible record of God's most precious revelation of himself. By large consent it has been thought a thing too sacred to receive any touch of revision from human criticism. The very attempt would be an act as essentially sacrilegious as to reach forth a profane hand against the ark of the Lord. At the heart of the New Testament lies the story of the One Life in which God himself found a supreme incarnation. There the deeds of this matchless life are related, his very words recorded. One of the traditions of the Koran is that it was written in heaven near by the eternal throne, and that it was passed by angelic hands from the table on which it rested direct into the keeping of Mohammed's messenger. So quite naturally in the Church there has been a cherished estimate of the New Testament which has attached to it all the sacredness of a book which might actually have been made in heaven, and thence passed ready-made for human uses. That the underlying assumption in all this is greatly

fraught with error in no way affects or modifies the feeling itself. This feeling was not born of a critical parentage. It is the child of traditional authority. It has been nursed and developed in an atmosphere which repels invasion by the critical spirit.

It is indeed difficult, in many cases practically impossible, for minds under the dominion of this traditional feeling to understand how criticism can have in itself a holy function. That the era of modern biblical criticism is a providential movement, is for the Church and kingdom of God on earth fraught with divinest meaning, is for such minds both incredible and inexplainable. That it is the legitimate mission, a high duty of the modern mind, whose vision has been vastly broadened and quickened by new revelations of science and by the spirit of a new philosophy, to bring to the New Testament the light of new knowledge and of more intelligent interpretation, is something for which the type of mind in question has no hospitality. That it is due to the New Testament itself, a most sacred duty to Christianity, that the light of the most perfectly developed scientific and critical knowledge should be focused upon its record is a consideration for which the mere traditionalist has neither welcome nor appreciation.

But whatever may be the dominion of traditional feeling, here or there, a great fact is—a fact as distinct as the sunrise on a new day—that we are living in a distinctive intellectual age. Dr. John Fiske years ago, in his little book, The Idea of God, said: "In their mental habits, in their methods of inquiry, and in the data at their command, the men of the present day who have fully kept pace with the scientific movement are

separated from the men whose education ended in 1830 by an immeasurably wider gulf than has ever before divided one progressive generation of men from their predecessors."

Whatever the duty in the matter, or however great the advantage of results to be achieved, the question of the introduction of a period of critical study of the New Testament was not primarily one to be decided by Christian scholarship. It was a question which forced itself upon the attention of the Church. When in 1835 there appeared Strauss's Life of Jesus and Baur's critical hypotheses on the Pastoral Epistles there was sent forth a challenge which was heard at every seat of Christian learning. This challenge came like the booming of an enemy's cannon. Under the brilliancy and suddenness of the assault, the first sensation of Christian scholars was one of consternation. This was the historic summons, however, to a general reinvestigation, and to a new defense, of the very foundations of the faith. And right nobly was this summons responded to. The gage of battle was promptly taken up, its issues fearlessly met. The theories of both Strauss and Baur were duly disarmed and displaced, though to both of these names conservative scholarship owes and acknowledges a lasting debt of gratitude. While Strauss's theories regarding Christ have been wholly rejected, yet his Life of Jesus was the beginning of a historic discussion the outcome of which has been more clearly, convincingly, and richly than ever before to establish and to magnify the claims of the historic Christ upon the thought of mankind. Baur's theory, based essentially upon the assumption of an irrecon-

cilable antagonism between Paul and the older apostles, while now entirely discredited, yet left him the founder of critical principles which have proven of high value in the long discussion which has since ensued.

It can by no means be claimed that higher criticism has completed its mission with the New Testament. Its work, however, is so far complete as to give great assurance of its permanent values. This criticism was early removed from a merely negative or destructive character. It was espoused by men of faith and of the ablest constructive abilities. The work in its progress has met with some very baffling problems, such, for instance, as those which have been found to inhere in connection with the Fourth Gospel. One general fact has been very clearly discovered, namely, that the old apologetics will not meet the new conditions. The entire New Testament has been set very largely in a new perspective. But, while traditional thought concerning both its teaching and history has been perforce largely modified, it may confidently be said that the inspiration of the New Testament was never so manifest, its ethical and spiritual content never so rich, as when seen in the light of its new setting.

So far as the literature itself of the New Testament is concerned, every space to the very minutest in its entire field has been searched in the fiercest light of criticism. As the outcome of all, so far as the genuineness of the books is involved, it may be said that a conservative view holds that of the older group of New Testament literature—the Pauline Epistles—of the thirteen ascribed to Paul's authorship, the following may be accepted as genuine, namely: The Epistles to the

Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians. Historical study of the two Epistles to Timothy and the one to Titus has discovered so many difficulties as to incline some conservative critics to doubt their Pauline authorship. Professor Hort, while acknowledging the objections, says that, to the best of his belief, they were written by Paul. The Epistle to the Hebrews, while traditionally assigned to Paul, has by common consent for a long period been conceded as not of his authorship. The authorship of the Epistle of James, which has generally been assigned to James, the brother of the Lord, is now regarded as quite uncertain. Its approximate date is also a question which is not satisfactorily established. That Saint Peter was the author of the first Epistle bearing his name meets with such support as to permit restfulness in this conclusion. In literary form Second Peter and Jude show much interdependence. It is considered doubtful that Second Peter could have been the source of Jude. If, however, Jude is the source of the former, then it would seem decisive that Peter could not have been the author of the Second Epistle. Jude was a brother of James, but whether he is the author of the Epistle bearing this name is a matter of uncertainty, the probabilities being against the claim. The view in general reached concerning the Synoptic Gospels is that Mark is the oldest of the three; that both Matthew and Luke drew largely upon Mark for their narratives, but that in all probability there were other existing documents upon which all drew more or less in common. As to the genuineness of the Synoptic Gospels there is substantial unanimity of conclusion.

Most recent research, especially as set forth in Harnack's Luke, seems to make it indubitable that the Acts of the Apostles was written by the author of the Third Gospel.

Concerning the writings commonly attributed to the apostle John, both the three Epistles and the Fourth Gospel are conceded in the order of New Testament books to be of comparatively late origin. The book of Revelation, if from the apostle's pen, is probably the earliest of the five productions bearing his name. There has been much discussion as to the authorship of all these books save perhaps the First Epistle. No fiercer critical controversy has been waged around any part of the New Testament than around the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. The preponderant conclusion of all is that if this Gospel was not directly written by the apostle John it was in any event composed by one who familiarly knew and represented his personal thought and teachings.

Thus, without entering into the merits of the discussion —a discussion which would require a volume for adequate treatment—I have endeavored briefly to indicate what would seem to me a fair critical consensus as to the authorship and genuineness of the books of the New Testament. Some facts should be clearly borne in mind:

1. If there are real difficulties—and there are many of them—in ascertaining the authorship, the date, or the real status of any of the books of the New Testament, these difficulties have in no way been created by the processes of criticism. They are difficulties which inhere in the situation, difficulties which criticism finds when it approaches the New Testament as a field for investigation, and to the solution of which criticism has devoted its ablest efforts.

2. Whatever uncertainty may remain as to dates and authorship of given books, enough is known as to the character and the period of all the books to assure confidence that their authors stood very close to the sources of Christian history, and that they have given us genuine and faithful portrayal of the teachings of both Christ and his apostles. However unknowing we may be as to the authorship or dates of certain of its books, the New Testament as a whole gives us an unimpeachable record of the vital beginnings of Christian history.

3. It should also be said that most of the books about which conservative criticism feels more or less uncertainty are the books concerning which, from the beginning, there has been an attitude of questioning on the part of the Church.

4. Finally, if the books about which there is doubt are left entirely out of consideration, there is, in the books concerning whose authorship there is no question, sufficient material on which to plant securely the foundations of the Christian Church. Whatever else criticism has done or has failed to do, it has, by going to the bottom facts, by laying bare its very first things, demonstrated that the historic foundations of Christianity are indestructible. In response to all intelligent inquiry the evidences for the divinity of the Christian religion as judged by its initial records were never so clear, never so indubitable, never so invincible as now:

> "As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
> Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
> Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
> Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

GROWTH OF INTERPRETATION

Absolutely without originality there is no man. No man whatever believes, or can believe, exactly what his grandfather believed: He enlarges somewhat, by fresh discovery, his view of the universe, and consequently his Theorem of the Universe,—which is an *infinite* Universe, and can never be embraced wholly or finally by any view or Theorem, in any conceivable enlargement: he enlarges somewhat, I say; finds somewhat that was credible to his grandfather incredible to him, false to him, inconsistent with some new thing he has discovered or observed. It is the history of every man; and in the history of Mankind we see it summed up into great historical amounts,—revelations, new epochs.—CARLYLE.

Certain it is that Augustine's final dogmatic scheme has turned Christianity from a religion of joy and hopefulness into the most appalling pessimism that the human imagination has ever conceived. . . .

But we say, with all the emphasis that is possible to us—for it is a time to speak plainly—that the "Calvinism" which Calvin received and handed down is not "the Christian interpretation of a truth many lesser minds have feared to face," is not the Christian interpretation of the facts of life, but a gross misinterpretation; a theory of the divine character and of human destiny which has no foundation either in the New Testament or in our knowledge of ourselves; a nightmare which it is time we woke from, an evil legacy of the past which, in the interests of religion and of human sanity, needs to be buried—deep beyond all possibility of disinterment.—BRIERLEY.

Christ makes the Fatherhood the basis of all the duties which man owes to God. Supreme love to God is possible only because God is love. On the ground of mere sovereignty or judicial and autocratic authority, the first commandment could never be enjoined. We cannot love simply because we will or wish or are commanded, but only because we are loved. Supreme affection is possible only through the Sovereign Fatherhood. And what is true of this first is true of all our other duties. Worship is to be in spirit and in truth, because it is worship of the Father. Prayer is to be constant and simple and sincere, because it is offered to the Father. We are to give alms in simplicity and without ostentation, because the Father sees in secret. We are to be forgiving, because the Father forgives. Obedience is imitation of God, a being perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect. In a word, duty is but the habit of the filial spirit; and it is possible and incumbent on all men, because all are sons.—A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

CHAPTER X

GROWTH OF INTERPRETATION

THREE factors are requisite to the ends of revelation: the revealing source, the truth to be imparted, the receiving and apprehending mind. It is obvious that without the last of these factors there can be no real revelation. Revelation addresses itself to intelligence. The night skies might be as thickly studded with stars as now, the clouds float as fleecily, the glow of the rising and setting sun furnish all external conditions of beauty; but if the earth were without intelligent inhabitants the whole scene would be meaningless. Revelation to be effective must be apprehended by, and translated into the possession of, a human intelligence. And so, in the last resort, the matter of revelation is largely one of interpretation. This vital and underlying fact very clearly indicates that revelation itself is conditioned by the capacity and intelligence of the mind to which it is addressed.

It is not within my present purpose to discuss any specific view of revelation or of inspiration. I do not believe that, under any philosophy which may be accepted as rationally adequate to the case, the Bible can be accounted for except as containing a record of special divine revelations to mankind; and its appeal in general to the moral soul of the race is explained only in the fact that a spirit of divine inspiration breathes through its volume as in no other literature of the world. In this view, however, there is nothing inharmonious with

that which declares that vision, insight of a high order, is necessary for the human appreciation of any divine manifestation. In the realm of the spiritual as in the natural world there is an unlimited wealth of truth which can be appropriated only by the deeply in-seeing soul. As in philosophical and scientific realms it is only the exceptional seers who have explored and brought to the common knowledge the hidden treasures of thought and of fact, so only to a class of specially gifted—inspired—minds, prophets, apostles, saints, have there been revealed the higher truths and the richer treasures of the spiritual world. In the spiritual as in the natural world it seems to be God's order that the great democracy of the human mind shall be dependent upon the message of the in-seeing, of the inspired, prophet for the knowledge of the larger truths. It is this in-seeing, this inspired, prophet who has led all the intellectual and moral advances of human history.

All teaching processes are limited by the capacity for reception. We do not undertake to teach our children in terms of abstruse philosophy. Between the kindergarten and the postgraduate courses of the university there is a long and graded distance. A child thinks as a child, and all thought which he shall intelligently appreciate must be on the plane of childlike mind. But when he becomes intellectually a full-grown man he has put away childish thoughts and is at home with mature themes. And this illustrates God's law of dealing with the race. History in its great trends clearly demonstrates the progressive character of human knowledge. It would seem, indeed, that there are some exceptions to this law. We hear of "lost arts." It is

certain that some civilizations have developed periods of brilliant intellectuality which have been followed by mental decline. The comparatively modern period of the "Dark Ages," involving all Europe, was like a long night that set in after the reign of brilliant civilizations, civilizations that carried in themselves the most perfect fruits of intellect, of art, of law, of government, of morality. But these exceptions are only apparent as against the general law of racial mental progress. They fall under the analyses of a philosophy which quite fully explains their place in general history. All apparent exceptions duly considered, the fundamental and abiding fact is that what we think of as the world's progress is measured by the world's growing knowledge.

"Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

The history of anthropology uncovers long ages through which man, however brutelike in strength, or however fiercely he might fight his battles, was exceedingly limited in his intellectual attainments, commanding only the most rudimentary knowledge of nature's forces. Indeed, a great pathos of human history is that man, living in a world so rich in resources, should have spent untold ages in such mental undiscernment as to have secured for himself only the slightest knowledge and mastery of nature's wealth. In the days when the first man walked the earth nature was just as rich in all the facts and the material out of which the modern sciences are constructed as to-day. Nearly all the great sciences were born but yesterday. The splendid heritage of art which now gives to man a real sovereignty —a sovereignty that seems more wonderful than magic

—over earth and sea and air is but the gift of to-day. Yet through all the millenniums man groped his way in this richly stored world apparently in sublime ignorance of the fact that nature, like the locked boxes of a great safety vault, was only awaiting the key of his invention to enrich and crown him with her illimitable treasures.

The fact is that nature through all the ages has lifted itself on every human pathway like a veritable temple of revelation, its windows aflame with the light of heaven, its every wall and space crowded with the records of divine truth. Through all these ages the doors of this temple have been wide open inviting entrance and exploration. For the interpreter of its records there has ever been waiting the secret of infinite knowledge and of unlimited power. The astounding fact is that through the long centuries man has walked the earth as stupidly as a tramp; through ignorance he has missed his birthright of lordship, he has failed utterly to develop the discerning intelligence of translating and appropriating nature's uninventoried wisdom and wealth. But if it be true that the race has been slow in developing a knowledge of nature's more material side, if it be true that the physical sciences have delayed their advent till these later days, then how much more in the higher realms of psychic, spiritual, and moral revelation is man's progress likely to be of slow growth! The limitations of racial knowledge, of insight, of perception, have ever been the barriers which not even God has been able to transcend in imparting his revelations to mankind.

It may be all in the divine plan, it would seem doubtless so; but the childhood of the race has long tarried, and God has had to wait suiting times and develop-

ment for the impartation of his larger revelations. If it were possible for us to catch from the lips of the first devout Hebrew his conception of the God whom he worshiped, we should find that conception poor and meager as compared with the divine thought which in the fullness of time was revealed in Jesus Christ. Indeed, the earliest recorded thought of God given us in the Hebrew records seems at best to give no larger conception than that of the tribal deity. The acts attributed to Deity in some of the Old Testament narratives are plainly such as to indicate conceptions which are entirely unworthy of the God of Christian revelation. God is represented as sanctioning acts which would be only abhorrent to him whom Christ taught us to worship as our "Father which is in heaven." A just inference seems to be that the framers of these early narratives had very immature, even infantile, conceptions not only as to God's character, but that in their philosophy they sometimes attributed to him acts which were prompted simply by their own interests.

One can hardly read the narratives of the destruction of the Canaanites under Joshua, and many kindred happenings in the periods of Judges and of Kings, the repeated stories of the ruthless slaughter of all adult male populations in an enemy's territory, and the taking of the women and children into captivity, and at the same time feel that all this could have been ordered and approved by the God of the New Testament. If it should be said that these stories are in keeping with the spirit of warfare among a primitive and cruel people, then no exception can be taken to the statement. If, further, it should be declared that the victors in these

barbarous conflicts were fully persuaded that their victories were due to divine favor, this could as readily be believed. The earliest pagan records abundantly relate attempts on the part of those going forth to battle to propitiate and to secure the favor of the gods. It would be most natural for the earlier warriors of Israel to ascribe their victories to Jehovah, and to accredit him with the ordering of their battles, and the justification of their methods. But all this, so far from proving that God did prescribe and approve these rude methods of warfare, may only suggest how greatly lacking were these ancient warriors themselves in a knowledge of God's true spirit. The God whose face is seen in Jesus Christ had not much entered into the hearts of these men. They were doubtless firm believers in God, but their conceptions of God were more shaped by their human and unrefined ideals than by any full and enriching revelation of the divine character. The spirit of the Psalmist who pictured to himself a satisfying happiness in the destruction of the daughter of Babylon, and in the dashing of her little ones against the stones, would seem infinitely far from inspired by Him who commands that we shall love our enemies, bless them who curse us, and who sendeth his rain alike upon the just and the unjust.

Dr. Albert C. Knudson, professor of Old Testament exegesis in Boston University, in speaking of this general phase of morality as set forth in some of the Old Testament records, says: "The deception practiced by the patriarchs is recorded without condemnation. The crude and cruel law of retaliation is sanctioned as of divine origin. The treachery of Jael is highly lauded. And an

intense and bitter national spirit is inculcated, one that brooks no sympathetic intercourse with foreign peoples, and permits no eye of pity to fall even on their wives and children if they stand in the way of Israel's mission. This narrow spirit we find in widely separated portions of the Old Testament. It appears in the later prophetic utterances; it is embodied in the legislation; and it receives startlingly strong expression in the imprecatory Psalms."

It is indeed advocated by strong writers—for instance, by Professor A. M. Fairbairn in his great book, The Place of Christ in Modern Theology—that Christ alone was the real creator of monotheism as a realized religious faith. He insists that the monotheism of the Hebrews never at best reached beyond henotheism, a practical belief that Jehovah was the supreme God whose sovereign services were rather for Israel than for all mankind. It was reserved for Christ to practicalize in faith the conception that God is not only the Creator, but also the universal Father, of men. In Christ we have the express image of the Father's glory, full of grace and truth. He is the supreme revelation. The culmination of all of God's dealings with his world centers in him. Human thought will never transcend Christ. No human mind has been large enough to exhaust the riches of revelation in him. He is more and more attracting to himself the wonder and the worship of mankind. This process will go on indefinitely and increasingly. It will be hereafter and forever impossible to obscure the place of Christ in the world's thought.

Unfortunately, and for long ages, Christ's real historic place has been kept largely in the background even of

Christian thought; and the real agency in this obscureness has been the Church bearing his name. Christ was the creator of Christianity, and in the first ages, when its teachings and spirit fell upon the world pure from their source, this Christianity proved itself an irresistible moral force in the world. It conquered the Roman empire, inspired human society with new spiritual ideals, and founded a Church whose life has persisted and flourished when all contemporary civilizations have perished. If the ideal Christianity as shaped by Christ himself, and as preached and lived by early inspired apostles and evangelists, could have continued in incorruptible course, it is impossible now to say in what measure, and how early, it might have transformed the world.

But the very popular successes of Christianity were to prove the sources of its greatest impairment. It attracted to itself countless and unregenerate hordes representing all faiths and all philosophies. The Roman empire had domesticated in its Pantheon all the gods of the pagan world. In the breadth of her policies Rome had not assumed to interfere with the religions of her conquered provinces. Under her imperial banners the paganisms of the world were protected in their various cults and worship. But all this meant that Rome under the wings of her wide authority had brooded a vast medley of religious faiths, philosophies, and skepticisms. It followed, and inevitably, that when the tides of this mixed pagan world set toward Christianity very much of its conversion to the new faith was nominal rather than real, superficial rather than vital. Multitudes of the converts brought to their new

religious citizenship the household gods of their old paganisms. It was impossible that Christianity with this vast influx of unassimilated life in her nominal ranks should be able to maintain the distinctive purity, vigor, and spiritual aggressiveness which so fully characterized its original movements. An unregenerate paganism, like a vicious alloy, had entered its life with the effect of deteriorating both the quality and the beauty of its moral force. A river which flows through wide territory, no matter how high or pure its source, will take in solution the soils through which it passes, and these soils in turn will give tone and color to its waters. It was this process which modified Christianity when it took possession of the Roman empire.

But there was another great force, or combination of forces, that wrought simultaneously with the paganism of Rome, and that was Greek philosophy. If the mind of the Roman was legal, that of the Greek was philosophical. When Greek philosophy might otherwise have passed quietly to its final rest, Christianity furnished the subject upon which its revived energies fastened and fed themselves. It naturally resulted that the most fruitful theologians of the patristic Church were men who had been trained in the Grecian schools. The juridical type of the Roman and the philosophical type of the Grecian mind, while holding much in common, were generically so unlike as to make impracticable as between them a harmonious merger of fundamental beliefs. If Christianity was to become the chief objective to which these two types should direct their energies, it was inevitable that ultimately two Churches should result—the Grecian and the Roman. But these two

Churches, the one through its philosophy, the other by its genius for government, constituted themselves the custodians and interpreters of Christian thought as against the world. When the Roman empire disintegrated it left a heritage of peerless ideals of law and of government. Christianity then loomed up as the one great possibility, as the one community of vital coherence and of common interests large enough in promise to transfer and to appropriate to itself the splendid imperialism which the empire dying had left tenantless. The transfer of Roman imperialism to the Church was gradual. But the Roman ecclesiastic had imperialism in his blood; he had too vitally imbibed the proud traditions of his national history not to prove an apt statesman in adapting the principles of Roman government to the Christian community.

The Roman Catholic Church with its finally developed hierarchy, its papal absolutism, its claim to infallibility, its authoritative monopoly of the Christian Scriptures and its assumption of being by divine right their sole interpreter, its ruthless enslavement of the Christian conscience—all this was a logical evolution. But what was potentially true of Christianity in its relations to Roman law was equally true in its relations to Grecian philosophy. It was the one interest which brought to this philosophy a new awakening, which furnished a new basis and a new reason for its continued activities.

The dominant theologians among the Fathers were men of Greek inheritance and training. Among them were such great names as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Jerome, Athanasius, Augustine. Jerome and Augustine belonged to the Western Church. As ecclesiastics they

were fully imbued with the Roman spirit. Augustine's tremendous dogmas of the Divine Sovereignty were thoroughly the offspring of Roman imperialism. But as biblical interpreters both Jerome and Augustine were greatly influenced by the Alexandrine school of thought. In general, it may be said that the Greek mind furnished to the Church, East and West, the type of theology and of scriptural interpretation which dominated Christian thought down to, and even after, the period of the Reformation.

Thus the Christian Church through many centuries of its history was practically directed by two great forces, Grecian theology and papal ecclesiasticism—the one dominant as an intellectual inheritance, the other controlling because armed with imperial authority. The power which these two forces, singly or combined, came to exercise over the human mind is simply incalculable. It is doubtless within the bounds of truth to declare that in the ages faced by Wycliffe and Luther the philosophy of scriptural interpretation as inherited from the Fathers wielded a more direct and far greater influence upon the thought of the Christian world than did the combined teachings of Christ and his apostles. Christ and the writers of the New Testament, indeed, were largely lost in the maze of patristic allegory. As an ecclesiastical system the papal hierarchy stands as one of the most consummate creations of human genius. As such the historian may well devote to it his closest studies, and for its many excellencies he may justly bestow upon it highest eulogy.

But, alas! the most favorable picture we may have of the Church of Rome is not that which comes to us

as we rise fresh from the reading of the New Testament. In the New Testament we find no remotest hint of an imperial pope, none of a triple-crowned and purple-robed priesthood, no suggestion of sacerdotal agents with authority to open or shut the gates of heaven as against the souls of men. In the New Testament the Church is conceived of as the body of believers, as the company of individuals who have joined themselves to Christ and who have received his spirit. Ministers are given to the Church, but the idea of ministry is that of service. The New Testament minister is most approved who is most like his Master, giving himself in spiritual service to the needy, the poor, and the sick, preaching a gospel of good tidings, of forgiveness and salvation to sinful men. The service of the ministry is ethical and spiritual, and there is nowhere any suggestion of a function that is ceremonial or sacerdotal in its character. It is the privilege of all to present themselves direct to the heavenly Father through his Son. The only priesthood aside from Christ is the common priesthood of believers.

It should by no means be inferred that the Church through the period above described was destitute of the spirit of a true Christianity. In spite of all obscurements of New Testament doctrines through faulty teaching, and notwithstanding fearful corruptions in the rule and life of the Church, the pure spirit of Christ was so vital that the most perverted ages were not permitted to pass without the development of exceptional saints whose lives are a perpetual adornment of Christian history.

And now I return from this lengthy but needed statement in relation to the influences of Greek philosophy

and the Papal Church to say that, whatever may have been the values to Christian thought of the Grecian Fathers, or whatever may be said in defense of the Roman Church, it remains true that by the mystifying and sequestering of the Christian Scriptures they obscured from popular knowledge the historic sources of Christianity and they suceeded largely in putting Christ himself into the background of Christian thought.

Such a history prepares us to appreciate in some measure the beneficent mission of the modern critical movement. This movement has recovered the Bible to the people. Of course, due recognition should be given to previous efforts in this direction. Wycliffe, Luther, and other reformers translated the Scriptures into the popular tongues. A great emphasis of the Reformation was to call the faith of the people back to the Bible as the supreme authority in matters of salvation. But, after the Reformation had done its work in this respect, the Scriptures were far from being emancipated from false methods. It has been the high function of the critical movement to expose and to destroy vicious traditional methods of interpretation. It has not only done this, but at the cost of incessant, enormous, and reverent toil it has searched the foundations of the biblical books, has reproduced the historic atmospheres in which they were written, and has given us both the Old and the New Testaments in far more perfect and intelligent forms than have ever been possible in any previous age of human learning. So far as the New Testament is concerned—and this is now specially in our thought—the historic settings of the books, its pure and unglossed utterances, its own original and direct

message to mankind, in a measure far more perfect than was ever before true, are now our first-hand possession. And the most beneficent outcome of it all is the re-revelation of Christ and of his teachings.

To these features I shall hereafter call more specific attention; but certainly no phenomenon in literary history in its significance bears any comparison to the inexhaustible and critical study which has been given to the historic Christ in the last seventy-five years. Upon no other character in the world has there so fiercely beaten the white light of critical investigation. And it is but a mild statement of fact to declare that to-day he has emerged from the ordeal to receive acclaim as a being more wonderful, more divine, more reverenced, more worshiped than ever before. Not only this, but never so much as now has he drawn to himself the world's best thinking. Already enthroned without competitor in the sanest worship of mankind, his dominion promises to widen until the wisest and the noblest of all the earth shall lay their tribute at his feet.

The fact here to be emphasized is that out of all this fresh study of Christ there has come a wonderful enlargement in human conception of the scope of his person and mission. In the light of this study Christ has not only seemed to be the supreme revelation, but it is increasingly felt that men have hardly more than begun to take account of the wealth and significance of this revelation. It is certain that the critical study of original sources has necessitated great changes in the perspective through which we must view important Christian truth. For one thing, this study carries us far away from either the Grecian philosophical or the

Roman governmental interpretation of God. A truth of recent discovery to the Church, but one which lay most vitally at the very basis of all Christ's mission and teaching, is

THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD

In the theology of Augustine, which dominated the Church for a millennium and a half, and which was powerfully reinforced in the sixteenth century by Calvin, this greatest of all truths received in its real New Testament sense almost no recognition. The conceptions which both Augustine and Calvin transferred to Deity were those derived from absolutism in government. The God of the Augustinian theology was a despot who ruled all things by his sovereign decree. He even decreed the existence of sin, and glorified himself as the eternal prison-keeper of its helpless victims. In the philosophy of Calvin's *horribile decretum* no complaint can stand against God on the ground that he elects some and reprobates others, because, while those whom he elects merit no favor, those whom he reprobates deserve punishment. In short, Calvinism interpreted God through sovereignty, and the sovereignty as conceived was of a type which happily has been entirely displaced by the mellowing inspirations of a better age.

Between the conception of the Fatherhood as taught by Jesus and that of the sovereign God as set forth in the Augustinian theology there is an impassable gulf. The divine Fatherhood is not only fundamental in the revelation of Jesus Christ, but its acceptance demands a theology far different from what was possible under the Augustinian conception. In the light of Christ's teachings every movement of God toward

humanity is from the standpoint of a father, is prompted by motives of love. God creates man that he might have an eternal heritage of children in his own likeness, children whom he could love, with whom he could commune, upon whom he could bestow his own nurture, and whom he could everlastingly enrich with the inheritances of sainthood. The Divine Father was not responsible for sin. So far as we can see, he could not beget children in his own likeness without sin as a liability, at least a possibility. That a free being endowed with the power of rational choice could be such and at the same time exempt from the possibility of choosing evil is inconceivable. God in begetting human children took this risk. We are probably not well prepared to measure the catastrophe of sin as held in the thought of the Divine Father. For all that we know sin may have furnished the supreme opportunity for the manifestation of the Father's love. Its full mission may be so overruled as forever to immeasurably enhance upon the thought of the saints the values of God's Fatherhood.

Of one thing we may rest assured, and that is, the catastrophe having fallen, the Father could never abandon his erring child to the doom of sin. The eternal Fatherhood can do nothing less than to redeem, nothing less than to institute every condition and agency for the restitution of the sinning child. Sin may possibly pervert and alienate the filial nature, and put the child in an attitude of perpetual estrangement to the Father's love; but the Father-heart will never cease to yearn for the return of the wanderer. The prodigal may never put his face homeward, but the Divine Father can never forget him.

This does not mean that there are not included in God's Fatherhood all the elements of a righteous sovereignty; but it is the sovereignty essential to Fatherhood and is something infinitely different from the mere incarnation of despotic will. Righteousness of motive and of conduct is an essential of the divine household. The family which God seeks to create around him is one of harmony because of the holiness and obedience of its members. The invasion of unremedied sin would turn the home of God's chosen children into a scene of anarchy. Law, the law of obedience, the law of holiness, and this law forever insisted upon, is one of the most perfect expressions of the Father's beneficence. This is a condition which forever underlies the safety and the happiness of the moral universe. This condition the Father's love ever addresses for their approval and acceptance to his sons and daughters. But this all means that God's sovereignty is always exercised in the interests of his children, of their character and welfare, and never as despotic will.

It is this relation of Fatherhood which gives to sin its most hateful and forbidding aspect. Sin is not simply a defiance of law, it is a crime against love. It is the alienation of a child against the parental heart, the rebellion of a life against the most perfect good that infinite love can plan for that life. Sin is the great perversion; it is in its very nature unreasonable, ungrateful, hateful. It is the reign of alienation in a heart made for love; it is the thwarting of the holiest ideals of Fatherhood.

I have said that it is the very nature of Fatherhood to redeem. God could never suffer his child to fall

under any doom of sin without first investing all divine resources to rescue one so imperiled. But, from a different point of view, atonement itself springs from the very heart of Fatherhood. The cross of Christ is the most vivid picture and portrayal to us of God's thought of sin, of the Father's pity for the child whom sin victimizes and imperils. It shows at once both God's hatred of sin and the sacrifice which his love is willing to make to save the sinner. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son." "Christ suffered death upon the cross for our sins." With the thought of Fatherhood ever before us, of one thing we may be sure: there was no suffering on the part of Christ which did not equally pierce the heart of the Father. In some dreadful way sin necessitated the cross. The cross was a tragedy in the divine heart, an event whose meaning in our most tender and luminous moods we shall never begin to fathom. Sin nowhere can appear so malignant, so deadly depraved, such a treason against all goodness, as when seen in the light of the cross. To save his child from this malign and damning thing the Father's love stops not short of supreme sacrifice. The heart that can thrill with the vision of the cross must at the same time shudder at the enormity of the thing which made the cross a necessity. It is also true that nowhere else is there furnished such a vision of the Father's love. As we think of Christ in the hours when he passed from Gethsemane to Calvary, the spectacular scene helps us to some vivid and sympathetic appreciation of his human suffering. Even so, our most perfect view is superficial. The deeper meaning of the tragedy not even the angels can look into. But in

the heart of God, the Father, far removed from all visible or phenomenal expression, this tragedy to its deepest pang was enacted. And what was the purpose of it all? That in some way the infinite love of a Divine Father might save his child from the death of sin. If there is any vision of God's love that can melt the sinner's heart into penitent contrition, that certainly is the vision in the center of which is the cross.

Fatherhood is the secret of the Incarnation. God must reveal himself to his sons and daughters. For this purpose he can meet our limitations in no way so effectively as by coming to us in the person of Jesus the Christ. In Christ, God the Father concretes himself upon our human vision. If we have seen Christ we have seen the Father. If we know the heart of Christ we know the heart of God. But it is equally true that the Father has incarnated in the life of his Son the perfect ideal of what he would have his human children to become. Christ in his human life is the beloved Son in whom the Father is ever well pleased. And so, with Christ before our vision, we can never go far astray in our knowledge as to what we ought to be that we may be approved as the sons of God. And this is the real significance of the increasing exaltation which Christ is receiving in human history. God in this way is lifting his incarnate Son more and more into the gaze of humanity. It is not the son of a Nazarene carpenter, not the humble child of obscure Judean peasants, who is being thus exalted. It is for no less a person than his own Son that God is to-day so subsidizing the forces of history, of literature, and of worship. It is the living miracle of history that Jesus Christ is to-day more and

more drawing to himself the attention of mankind. The growing exaltation of Christ in the thought of all nations, and especially at the end of nineteen centuries, from the humble conditions of his birth, cannot be accounted for on any hypothesis less than that of his divine Sonship. His fame is peerless and unapproached by any other child of the race. God hath exalted and hath given him a name that is above every name, because he as no other is the revelation of the divine Fatherhood, as also of that sonship to which God through him would win all the children of men.

But when searched from every standpoint we shall only the more fully discover that the Fatherhood of God is the all-significant fact in the revelation of Jesus Christ. It is the one ground on which rests the greatest of the commandments. We are commanded to love God with all our being. But we cannot love a Deity who is simply a creator, a governor, or a judge. Love only can beget love. It is possible for us to love God with all our hearts only because as a Father he has loved us with an unmeasured love. And so, in the entire range of his revelation every expression, every overture, of God to men proceeds from the fountain of his Fatherhood. And every demand which God makes upon human life is for the fulfillment of duty owed to him. All the duties of love, of faith, of honesty, of purity, of forgiveness, of prayer, of worship, of service, we owe because God is our Father. The life of a child of God is perfect only as it is perfect in the possession and manifestation of the filial spirit.

The Fatherhood of God carries in itself all the relations and destinies of his kingdom in the earth. The

Fatherhood of God means the brotherhood of man with all of its far-reaching implications and burdens of responsibility. The kingdom of God on earth will be realized only in just the measure in which the divine brotherhood is actualized. The plain putting of this truth may seem to many startling and chimerical. But we may remember that we are only at the first end of God's plans for his world. The human brotherhood will be perfectly, beautifully realized, and it will be realized through the instrumentality of men, increasingly multiplying men, who in themselves shall develop for humanity the spirit and the service which was in Jesus Christ. God's plans for this world are larger than we know. A light too effulgent for our present vision will yet rest upon the earth. God is not discouraged; we must not be. He will not fail.

It need not be disguised that the modern emphasis of God's Fatherhood has greatly modified methods and conceptions of pulpit ministrations. This was inevitable. Treatments of themes which were formerly greatly effective are no longer tolerated. The preacher who is steeped in traditional methods, and who has failed to keep himself intellectually in sympathy with modern scholarship, is having a hard time. He is very likely to be sincere, pious, and possibly ardent; and these qualities count for much. But such a man is hopelessly out of touch with the deeper thinking and feeling of the age. As a teacher he cannot command a following from the young and alert intellect of the times. He is himself oppressed with the mystery of the situation. He is tempted to be a pessimist. He feels that spiritually the times are out of joint, when the real trouble

is that he has anchored himself in both thought and mood to phases which the world has outgrown. Not a few of the old type of traveling evangelists whose appeals in former days swayed multitudes have, because of a change in the intellectual atmosphere which they have not appreciated, found themselves bereft of both their power and their calling. They do not know what has happened. Still traveling about with their stock of stereotyped sermons in their carpetbags, they are vapid enough to accredit "higher criticism" with having carried the Church and the age out of range of the "pure gospel." These are the men who, on a par with Mrs. Partington attempting to keep back the Atlantic Ocean with her broom, would like to arrest the progress of free investigation in our higher institutions of learning.

It may be that the modern pulpit often fails in right emphasis, but, if so, it is not the fault of the richer gospel of the present which the pulpit is commissioned to preach. No pulpit since Pentecost has had at command such a wealth of inspired truth, so rich a gospel of good tidings to a needy world, as that which in these very days is awaiting utterance from the intellectually equipped and the spiritually baptized preacher.

THE KINGDOM AND HUMANITY

The Kingdom is a growth, both in our understanding of it and in its realization. Our Lord spoke of it as a leaven, which was gradually to leaven the lump. Again, he described it as a seed, which should grow up, first the blade, then the ear, and after that the full corn in the ear. And he even spoke of our knowledge of it as something to be slowly gained under the tuition of the Holy Spirit, whom he would send to guide his disciples into the truth. He brought the leaven, he planted the seed, he spoke the word; but the evolution and the understanding were committed to the ages.—Professor Borden P. Bowne.

If there be a real climax to the long history of nature, then it surely must needs be that no part of the long chain of process that leads to this consummation can be without meaning. Logical coherence compels us to suppose that the whole natural order is an immense system of final causes converging at last upon one Supreme End, the "one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves." It is toward this end that law must be working, the ocean currents flowing, the mists rising and falling, the strata being piled mountain-high, and human life being lavished by land and sea. All roads of Nature at last converge upon some Mother City of Man.—D. S. Cairns.

CHAPTER XI

THE KINGDOM AND HUMANITY

In the matchless prayer which our Lord taught his disciples the first utterance is an ascription to the Father, a petition that his name may be hallowed among men. The next is the petition that God's kingdom may come, and that his will may be done on earth as in heaven. The term "kingdom" is one which Christ habitually used to designate the distinctive community or society for the creation of which he himself came into the world. The phrases "kingdom of God," "kingdom of heaven," or "my kingdom," as used almost solely by Christ, appear in the Gospels no less than one hundred and twelve times, while the term "Church" is recorded to have fallen from his lips in but two instances. It is evident that in Christ's thought the kingdom and the Church were not synonymous terms. The Church, however important its mission, is but one of the agencies of the kingdom.

Christ's conception of the kingdom is no less than that of a new moral order for the world, a universal empire of humanity in which shall be actualized the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The phrase "kingdom of heaven" has been much treated in sermons and in Christian literature as though it related solely to a supramundane life, the life of a heavenly hereafter. It is doubtless sometimes used to express the translated and the celestial estate into which Christ's perfected kingdom shall ultimately eventuate. But the great

burden and stress of the term as it fell from Christ's lips had reference solely to God's purposes and work as relating to this human world.

In accepting this view we must hold ourselves ever mindful of the fact that, whatever this conception involves as to the meaning of the kingdom, it is a conception that adjusts itself to human and mundane conditions. The kingdom thus conceived is not identical either in development or environment with that of the final and heavenly estate. The kingdom on earth when most perfectly developed will still be composed of citizens of human limitations. Knowledge will be imperfect, character in many cases will be immature, and it is quite conceivable that dispositions alien to the kingdom may persist in exceptional instances. But the kingdom on earth as conceived by Christ certainly does involve the most ideal conditions possible in a mortal world.

It would seem that for obvious reasons Christ prudentially withheld himself from a certain kind of utterance concerning his kingdom in the world. It would have been most easy, had he yielded to the temptation, for him to incite the spirit of insurrection against Roman rule among the Judean populations. This people continually chafed under foreign dominion, and would have been but too ready to summon a popular idol to lead them in throwing off the hated yoke. But such a move as this, even though it could have succeeded, would have been utterly aside from, as well as vastly damaging to, Christ's real mission. It was infinitely far from Christ's purpose to excite, upon the one hand, the spirit of popular revolt, or, upon the other hand, to utter any word or perform any act by which he could

justly be construed as personally hostile to the ruling powers. Much, therefore, of his utterance pertaining to the kingdom was veiled in apocalyptic forms.

Christ doubtless did seek to impress his disciples not only with the paramount importance of the society which he termed "my kingdom," but he sought also to impress them with its supreme worth and attractiveness as compared with all earthly dominions. In order to become citizens of this kingdom, they, if needs be, could afford to forego all earthly good, to endure the most fearful persecutions, and to count it all joy. In the period preceding his crucifixion, and after he had announced his death, while he always spoke with the fullest confidence of the triumph of his cause, he also frequently intimated that after his death he must return again for the completion of his kingdom in the earth. There can be no doubt that the early disciples were thoroughly imbued with the conviction of Christ's early bodily return to earth, and with the expectation that in a most spectacular way he would visibly set up his kingdom among men. Saint Paul was very fully prepossessed with this idea, and he even expressed the hope that he might himself live to witness his Lord's coming.

We are forced to conclude that this conviction, in the form in which it was held by the early Church, was a mistake. It was owing not simply to a popular, but to an apostolic, misconstruction of the things which Christ himself had said. So far as may be seen, we are not required to assume that any inspiration which the apostolical writers possessed would necessarily guard either them or the Church against such mistaken infer-

ence. In the meantime, there can be no doubt that this view of the early Church concerning Christ's speedy second coming did serve very important ends. It kept the faith and the patience of the Church firm and steady through stress of storm and trial. These early Christians lived in a most difficult environment. The world around them was rampant in wickedness and oppression. The man of sin stood over against them powerful, defiant, cruel, ruthless. But the Christians said: "We can endure. We serve a King who will soon appear in majesty to stamp out this wickedness, and to cast his enemies into the dust. The night may be bitter, but it is brief. We can be patient, for when he comes we shall be sharers in his triumph and in his glory."

It is not my purpose here to attempt any critical analysis of the New Testament teaching concerning Christ's second coming. This teaching, as confessedly acknowledged by the most expert exegetes, is fraught with difficulties. I must believe, however, whatever ulterior meanings in some cases Christ's utterances concerning his second coming may legitimately carry, that the great body of these utterances have from Pentecost to the present time been receiving their steady fulfillment. Christ, through the Spirit, has been continuously in the world building his kingdom among men. The processes of this kingdom are not with demonstration; they are not of that spectacular order which the early disciples, because of their Jewish conceptions and anticipations, would most naturally have expected. But the kingdom which Christ through the centuries is quietly building carries in itself a real glory unpictured by its most inspired descriptions. Its real values transcend

immeasurably the best forecasts of its prophets and apostles. It is a kingdom which puts all earthly rule under a shadow, because it is the kingdom of God among men. Measured by time, it may now be but in its beginnings, but, if so, it is surely, steadily working toward that

"One far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves."

The conceptions furnished by science, cosmogony, geology, evolution help to poise and calm us with a large philosophy as to God's purposes and methods with this world. One thing seems certain, God has taken abundant time to prepare the earth for man's advent. The evidence seems to indicate that man himself, in his first coming as compared with his higher possibilities, was but a rudimentary being. The inference would seem reasonable that if God could take myriad ages in which to prepare this world for man's citizenship, then he might well take unlimited time to perfect the being for whom such a world was so patiently made ready. And so it may be true that

"If twenty million of summers are stored in the sunlight still,
We are far from the noon of man, there is time for the race to grow."

We shall think sanely, inspiringly, of Christ's kingdom, the kingdom now building, when we conceive of it as realizing the goal of all divine purposes for this world. This goal has been pictured, inadequately but impressively, as "the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." It is pictured as a country in which God dwells with his people, where all tears are wiped away, and there is no more death, neither

sorrow, nor crying, nor any more pain, for these former things are passed away. In this country there is no temple which screens God from the vision of his people, for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple thereof. "And the city hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God is present, and the Lamb is the light thereof. And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth shall bring their glory and honor into it. And there shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie; but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life."

This picture is born of an inspired dream. It is characterized by limitations of Judaic thought, colored by Judaic imagery. It is, therefore, provincial and inadequate to its real subject. But in spirit it is true. It thrills and glows with a far-off glory of Christ's perfected kingdom in the earth.

We must now ask, What are the agencies and what the methods through which Christ's kingdom is to be developed? The moment when Christ, in response to their request, gave to his disciples a model prayer must have been one of great significance. Is there anything in this prayer which may help to guide our thought? The petition is for the coming of the kingdom. This petition seems to be inseparably bound up with the ideal that when the kingdom shall really come the will of God will then be done by men on earth even as it is now done by the unsinning citizens of heaven. A very first condition of the kingdom, then, is the filial human heart, the enthronement in the individual bosom of a

will whose outgoings toward God are those of obedience and love. And this condition cannot be overemphasized.

It must be said that the initial and vital fact upon which Jesus confidently and fearlessly rests all his hopes for the future welfare of human society is in the character and conduct of the regenerated individual. The interior soul made luminous, hopeful, and strong with his own indwelling life is the single center from which he proposes to construct all his kingdom of righteousness, purity, good will, and happiness among men. The constructive forces of his kingdom do not primarily arise from outward environment nor from material conditions. They proceed from within outward. Socialism emphasizes environment. Its logic, when reduced to the last analysis, is, give a man good surroundings, endow him with material plenty, and his life will be right. Experience is far from confirming the soundness of this philosophy. Multitudes of men in the best material environment have developed gross and infamous lives. Not that a proper stress may not be laid upon the quality of material environment. There are environments in which it would be impossible to develop valuable character, surroundings that brutalize life, and in whose sodden atmosphere no beautiful thing can grow. It will be a part of the important mission of the kingdom to make impossible foul habitations. But, while Christ is not indifferent to environment, his method is, through personal regeneration of character, to create the forces in the soul which shall make it impossible for men to tolerate, or to continue in, an environment which brutalizes. Regenerated lives are creative; they cannot rest satisfied with depraved or insanitary surroundings. The

real constructive forces of Christ's kingdom, then, are born within and projected from hearts which have been transformed by the Spirit of God. On such hearts Christ conditions absolutely the moral and social reconstruction of the world. This program reviewed simply from the standpoint of human wisdom may seem both radical and impracticable. But, if so, it is the radicalism of Jesus Christ, and he makes no mistakes.

The fatal hindrance to the incoming of Christ's kingdom is alienated human wills—wills which not only do not seek to realize the will of God, but which habituate themselves in doing that which God forbids. It is evident that over such wills the kingdom cannot reign. The exorcising from the individual will of the spirit of alienation toward, of disharmony with, God is clearly, then, an indispensable condition for the coming of the kingdom into the individual life. But the individual, though but a unit in, stands vitally related to, the social compact. Society is the relationship in which not only the individual develops mostly his significance and values, but it furnishes also the sphere of his personal influence, the sphere in which his character and conduct tell for good or evil upon the lives of others about him. This is the philosophy of the kingdom—the leaven of righteous character working in the meal of society. The ideal citizen of the kingdom is no neutral or inactive force. He must be in himself a fountain of Christlike sympathies, a battery of moral energy, an active doer of the will of God among men. Having himself come under the dominion of the kingdom, he must seek to win others to the same rule. It is by this process that the kingdom is to widen among men.

But, given the filial heart and will, still very much will depend upon the conception under which the builder shall do his work. It is of the utmost importance that the worker shall intelligently apprehend the divine will. For high service it is not enough to be willing; it is necessary to be intelligent. It is vastly important to the efficiency of the worker that in addition to the spirit of consecration he shall have some inspiring measurement of his opportunity, of the field of his action and responsibility. The poverty of the Church has often been the poverty of its ideals. In general, it may be said that the largeness of God's thought for the world has dawned most slowly even upon the Christian mind. Men of conscience and of power have promoted the infamy of the Inquisition, and have condemned to martyrdom honest and heroic thinkers apparently on the ground that a man's intellectual attitude toward dogma is in the sight of God more important than the moral state of his heart. The ultra-Romanist has sincerely believed that outside of his Church there is no salvation. The small Churchman has insisted that Christ has no validly ordained ministers save such as have come to their function through the viaduct of the apostolical succession—itself an absurd fable construed as history. From some quarters it might be inferred that the Christian Church is largely a matter of priestly orders, of ministerial uniform, of ritual and of ceremony, an institution in which the highest court etiquette is of saving importance.

It is a most sad thing to discover how out of perspective with the largeness of divine Fatherhood has been very much of so-called Christian thinking. There

has been a great deal of devotion that has been accompanied with poor ideals, ideals that have been hard, narrow, bearing little or no likeness to the spirit of Christ. Poor conceptions of the nature and mission of the kingdom cannot mean other than defective or misdirected service. Zeal and ignorance are an unsafe partnership.

The ideal of the kingdom is divine. It is so large as not to be shut within the boundaries of family, clan, nationality, race, or any ecclesiasticism. It embraces in its beneficent purpose the entire human race. The ideal worker in and for this kingdom is the man who not only sincerely wills to do the will of God, but whose own intelligence most clearly and broadly grasps the divine thought of the kingdom itself. In a strict, but correct, sense it must be seen that the working forces of the kingdom are neither other-worldly nor impracticable. God's plans fit into the order of man's physical, social, and intellectual necessities. They lie on the plane of an industrial and working humanity. It is to be noted that, while Christ summoned men to his discipleship, it was not his rule to separate them from their industrial callings. Simon and his brethren were fishermen when Christ first met them, and at the time of his last recorded meeting with them they were still fishermen. So it is not in the nature or purpose of the kingdom to lessen the volume of the world's industries, to curtail legitimate trade, nor to withdraw incentive from inventive ingenuity. Under the kingdom agriculture, trade, commerce, invention, literature, art, science, learning, government, institutions promotive of human good, the increasing annexation and conversion of nature's forces

to human uses—all will proceed normally, only with accelerated pace because conducted under bettered conditions. It will be through these very instrumentalities that the kingdom itself will largely manifest its perfections and yield its beneficent fruitage. We must, then, divest ourselves of all ideas of any inadaptation of Christ's kingdom to this mundane life. The ghostly idea that Christian character can best flourish in separation from the world and its activities has long haunted Christian thought. But the idea itself is wholly un-Christian. The kingdom is to come to its final perfection by utilizing the natural resources of the earth, and by working the machinery of the industrial and social organisms.

One of the most important qualifications of the individual worker is that he be inspired with a sense of the divinity of service. When to right will and intelligence there is added the spirit of supreme consecration to the interests of the kingdom we have reached the conditions of the ideal worker. The greatest emphasis is often that of paradox. This is the method by which Christ emphasized his abhorrence of the selfish, the self-centered life: "He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." "Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." It was to such a policy of life that Christ utterly gave himself. This philosophy is a stumbling-block and foolishness to the selfish mind; but it is a philosophy which has won the lasting plaudits of mankind. Christ, who most literally and finally gave himself, has awakened the undying enthusiasms of the centuries. And if we search history for the roster of names most

sacredly enthroned in the love of the race, we shall find them not among the powerful, the rich, or the selfish, but among those who have given themselves in unselfish and exalted service for mankind, among those who have shown the spirit of splendid sacrifice in behalf of their fellows.

And this but illustrates the divine law of compensation. He that gives shall receive, he that loses his life shall find it again. He who in most perfect self-forgetfulness gives himself for the service of humanity shall come to glorious resurrection and transfiguration in the fruits and triumphs of the kingdom itself. In relation to this great principle much of the teaching in practice of the Christian Church has been poor and barren. An enormous emphasis has been laid upon the importance of securing one's individual salvation, but the divine spirit of service for others in which the soul shall find its own largest development, and finally be most secure in the matter of its own salvation, has been largely lost sight of. It is prophetic of the larger place which the kingdom has reached in the common Christian intelligence that now so clear an emphasis is laid upon the importance of saving the community as well as the individual soul.

The law of service is measured by stewardship. No man is his own master, but must live as one who is to render an account of every investment which he makes of his Lord's treasure. The law of stewardship applies to every life and to every talent. Gifts for service vary as widely as the aptitudes and possessions of men; but under the law of the kingdom each man is responsible for the best investment of all his powers. No man has

a right to bury his talent. It may be that a majority of men are of the one-talent order, but, if so, these are under as supreme obligation to put their capital to service as though they were the directors of empires. Every possession that may be utilized for advancing the weal of society is by so much a measure of the moral responsibility of its holder. And there are no two standards of stewardship. A vicious method of thinking has assigned to the saint one and to the sinner another standard of obligation for the use of gifts. It has been common to assume that the Christian minister, by virtue of his calling, may be justly held to one standard of conduct, while his neighbor who makes no profession may be freely excused in the doing of that for which the minister would be condemned. The kingdom knows no such double standard. Every man alike is held responsible for living on the fore-edge of his best light. There are not two spheres in the kingdom, the one spiritual, the other profane. The kind of distinction which has been much capitalized in the interest of selfish motives, of a sacred and a profane order in the world, and both legitimate, is one which the kingdom does not recognize. Its very assumption is an intellectual blasphemy. The standards of the kingdom are made for only one world, and this God's world.

Stewardship, then, is the measurement of the law under which every man is held divinely responsible for investing all his powers for the good of the world. The preacher in his place is to do his utmost to magnify the gospel of his Master. All professions in command of exceptional resources must direct these resources to the highest ends of moral service. The men of trade

must acquire the secret of equitable methods, methods that shall deal honestly and helpfully to the world which they serve.

In most definite and stressful teaching Christ makes it appear that there is no source of power to which the law of the kingdom more exactingly or critically applies than for the moral uses of wealth. It would be folly to assume that Christ had any innate or acquired prejudice against wealth in itself considered. We know that many of his personal friends were possessors of wealth. He was a frequent guest in the homes of the rich. He lived altogether on too high a plane to permit him to judge of the worth of men from either their possession of or lack of riches. But no moral teacher was ever so clear and emphatic in his warnings against the dangers and the perversions of wealth as was Jesus the Christ. Indeed, some of Christ's utterances concerning wealth are of such a character that they could easily be used as rallying texts for the most radical socialist. He says: "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God! It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle." He bids men beware of the deceitfulness of riches. This deceitfulness is a thing that chokes the word of life out of the soul, and makes character spiritually and morally barren. There is probably no process more subtle than that by which the love of money steals its march upon the soul, engrossing and enslaving the life. Men become victims of its degradation without being conscious of its bondage. Francis of Assisi said that he had in the confessional received acknowledgment of all kinds of sin, but never once a confession revealing a

consciousness of covetousness. The deceitfulness of riches is something so alluringly fatal that its most hopeless victims seem never to know of its presence. Yet the man who is prosperous and rich, and who at the same time is forgetful of the higher interests of life, is one whom Christ brands as a fool. One of the most scathing parables which fell from his lips is that which describes the rich man who finally lifted up his eyes in hopeless torment because during his lifetime he had forgotten to discharge the social obligations of his wealth. An impressive scene is that in which the young man of clean habits, of outwardly respectable life, and who doubtless felt in his soul a yearning for higher things, yet went away hopeless and sorrowful because under Christ's illuminating test he had been made to see that in his soul a love of wealth was a passion above that for all better values. Christ did not condemn wealth, but it is certain that against no perils of the soul did he utter more vivid warnings than against the dangers of riches to their possessors.

I am well aware that many rich men deceive themselves by the belief that their investments in the world of trade prove a serviceable distribution of money. This indeed is true. No man can invest his means without putting his wealth into general circulation and thereby benefiting, it may be in a large way, the world of trade. But it is not in this sense in which Christ holds the rich man responsible for the uses of his wealth. This kind of investment may all be conducted upon the most selfish plane. It is simply receiving in return that for which investment is made. The kingdom holds wealth responsible for moral and benevolent, for unselfish, service to mankind.

It is good evidence of the growing rule of Christian sentiment among men that the best thought of the present age gives full approval of Christ's view as to the moral uses of wealth. This is often called a materialistic age. Wealth as a gross element doubtless too much influences social thinking. It is an element of power by which often its possessor commands influence and standing to which his intrinsic character would in no way entitle him. But, nevertheless, the feeling is increasingly general that it is something discreditable for a rich man not to be a real benefactor of his age. Riches in this day are so common that they may be literally considered vulgar unless marked by devotion to high service. One of the most noted capitalists and philanthropists of the age is author of the famous statement, "He who dies rich dies disgraced." The daily press, not overmuch given to moral lecturing, not infrequently takes occasion to voice the popular surprise and disapproval when a rich man dies and leaves nothing to benevolence. The miser has always been despicable. The man who is so enslaved by the love of money, who makes the dollar his standard of value for both men and things sold in the market, who successfully usurps the machinery of modern trade to add to his greedy hoards, yet who goes through life steeling his own heart against the spirit of benevolence, and turning a deaf ear to the cries for service which rise to him on every hand—this man awakens an intense but mixed feeling in the moral community. Some look upon him with pity, others with contempt, all with disapproval. Such a man is a misplacement under all high moral standards. Commanding enormous power to serve, he is untrue to

his stewardship. Between him and the real spirit of the kingdom there is still the difficult passage of the needle's eye.

Money is not in itself an evil. Whatever severity of emphasis Christ may have put upon the perils of wealth, he gives it a place of high value in the service of his kingdom. Under the law of the kingdom all gifts come to perfection in the measure of their devotion to service.

In the distribution of endowments God has just as certainly given to some men aptitudes for business as to others talent for poetry, for music, or for eloquence. A man's calling should be sacred. It is the sphere which furnishes him at once the opportunity and the implements for service. The man who has a talent for making an honest fortune, a fortune whose processes are not destructive but constructive of the interests of society, and who conscientiously uses this fortune as a steward of the kingdom, is one whom God has ordained for great honors. The kingdom has increasing need of such men. They belong to the elect nobility of God's sons.

A catalogue of the institutions which are to serve in building the kingdom must include all agencies which conserve, or contribute to, human weal. The family is God's first and most sacred nursery and training school of citizenship. The Church is a great university for spiritual teaching and moral nurture. It is vastly endowed and equipped for inspiring the world with the high ideals of the kingdom. It is the one institution whose distinctive mission it is to evangelize the world. But the Church, great as is its mission, is but one of the agencies of the kingdom. The school, the press,

legislation, the courts of law, benevolent institutions, are all to be taken possession of and conducted in the spirit and in the interests of the kingdom. Art, science, the entire machinery of business, everything that contributes to the betterment of human life—all is to be under moral direction and control. This means that from human society vicious traffics, amusements that debase, organized evil, environments that brutalize, are to be eliminated; that the earth through enlightenment, through applied science and art, is to be evolved as a fit physical habitation for the sons of God. This means the best sanitary conditions and a minimum of disease, the most perfect productiveness of nature, the carrying of the heavy burdens of humar drudgery and of the world's industries by natural forces, the releasing to the worker of such plenty and leisure as may be essential to his best development. So far as human society is concerned, it will be the realization of a true theocracy, the fulfillment of the vision of the Revelator, of a new heaven and a new earth in which dwelleth righteousness.

Such are some of the indicators of the kingdom which Christ came to erect in the earth. And is it all a visionary dream? Not so. There has been much discussion—probably most of it very unintelligent—as to the unreconcilable differences between science and the Christian faith. But in the great ends toward which they both look there would seem to be a most significant harmony. Evolution works toward a consummate race living in a world transformed by science. Christian faith looks toward a kingdom of righteousness into whose perfection are wrought all the finished products of industry, of

science, of art, of invention. The prophetic goal of both science and faith is a perfected humanity.

That enormous obstacles, obstacles of a seemingly insuperable character, stand in the way of this realization, cannot be ignored. One truth which needs to be domesticated in universal conviction is Christ's view of the worth of man as man. Christ habitually treated human nature with a reverence due to divinity. This was doubtless owing to his clear view of the infinite possibilities of the human soul. Much of Christ's active ministry was passed among the very poor and often among the most forlorn in the social communities. But he always treated the poor, the ignorant, those on the very rim of society, with a consideration which could only be born of a divine view of man's worth. He had that far vision of the soul's possibilities which made him feel always in the presence of human nature, however garbed in poverty or uninspiring its environments, that he was dealing with something of divine and infinite values.

In the Louvre of Paris is a picture by Murillo, "The Miracle of San Diego." The figures are of life size. Through an open door two noblemen and a priest enter a kitchen. To their amazement they find that all the maids are angels, dividing between themselves the work of the place. It is a parable in art of the divinity of the common toiler. These persons discharging a work rated as drudgery are themselves radiant with divine kinship, and under their hands life's daily toil itself is glorified. This Christlike conception as thus pictured on Murillo's canvas needs universal acceptance as a vital condition of the kingdom itself.

Prevalence of this view would go far toward settling all discords which now disturb the peace of the world. If the rich and the poor were to meet each other on the high plane of this conviction that they are brothers in immortality, peers in the inheritances of God's children, there could not long persist a warfare between capital and labor, there could continue no invidious distinctions in society. Men would no longer be estimated by the mere accidents or incidents of fortune, but on the basis of moral character.

In any large thought of the kingdom it cannot be forgotten that very much of the world is still in its intellectual and moral infancy. There are inferior races which are not only not in the procession, but they are hardly aware of the march of modern civilization. Among all these the leaven of the kingdom must work. Wherever man exists with possibilities of spiritual life and of moral growth, there is a candidate for citizenship in the kingdom. The mission of the kingdom will, and can, never be completed until its seed has been richly sown in every soil of humanity. When Christ's view of human worth shall take its rightful place in the convictions of the educated and powerful nations, then these nations will become missionary in their spirit, and trade and commerce will be allies with the moral and educational forces which shall work for the reclamation and uplift of all the outlying and unprivileged families of mankind. The vision of leaders in the kingdom must be inspired with the largeness and completeness of God's purposes for the *entire* world.

The noontide glories of the kingdom may be far or near. Be this as it may, before its coming the tempers

of the gospel must be enthroned in human society. In the great world of trade, now so vitiated by motives of piracy, an enlightened sense of equity must substitute all spirit of destructive rivalry. In the industrial world ideals of manhood, and not lust of gold, must be in control. God is dealing with this world for the purpose of developing a race of Godlike men. Before the kingdom can have sway all industries and business must subordinate themselves to this divine ideal. The ideals of the world must so far change as to place manhood everywhere, let it appear in whatsoever guise, at high premium over all things else. There may not then be less labor than now. Labor, so far from being a curse, is wellnigh God's one condition, and will always remain so, to the highest reach of soul. Masterful faculty, faculty which sways with force, has always developed the thews of its victory in overcoming difficulties and in capturing achievements on toilsome pathways. Indeed, I am unable to think of any heaven hereafter where the highest possibilities of the saint, the sublimest reach into Godlike character, will not forever be dependent upon faculties which shall be put into active and ceaseless stretch for attainment.

This world, then, when lifted to the highest plane, will always demand the laboring hand and the toiling brain. And, while the perfection of invention shall be such as to redeem labor largely from its menial features, there will always be grades of work some of which may not in themselves be as congenial as other grades. Needed service, however, of any order under the standards of the kingdom will be translated to a place of honor. In the day when Christian ideals prevail manhood will

be the highest and most valued thing on the earth. In that day men will not be graded by the kind of work they do, but by the kind of men they are. The passion for humanity, God's humanity, will be such that legislation, law, education, and all the forces that mold the commonwealth, will be in conspiracy to guard the pathway of every child born into the world with the highest conditions and ministries of life.

The bringing of the kingdom will demand great moral leadership. Every uplifting departure of the race, every new moral epoch, has arrived under the ordained leadership of the providential man. As a condition for the coming of the kingdom there will be no greater need than for prophetic men, a type of men that cannot spring either from the spirit of sodden and depressed labor nor from the mammon-blinded ranks of selfish wealth. The leader for the future must be a man inspired with God's own vision, one who comes to his mission as from the presence of burning bush or of transfiguring glories.

It may be truly said that never were the prophetic conditions of the kingdom so visibly present or of such manifest purport as now. Never before in the vast ferment of human thought was there such a leaven of Christian ideas as to-day. Never was there such a challenge from the popular conscience against organized wrong, never such a call for a sense of moral stewardship for the uses of wealth. This age not only witnesses and welcomes unparalleled benevolences, but it accentuates as no other the necessity for justice to all men. Christian ethical and altruistic ideas, as never before, like a searching sea tide, are pressing on all the shore

lines of the world's thinking. To the observer who has capacity to brush the mists of the night from his eyelashes, the tops of the mountains round about are agleam with the light of divine promise for the future.

Steam navigation and the telegraph have made the nations one neighborhood, while trade and commerce are bringing all mankind into one community of interest. Keeping even flight with these electric-winged forces, Christian thought will carry its enlightenment, its culture, its science, its own persuasiveness, to all the peoples of the earth. As these factors come under moral direction they will more and more prove agencies for translating the nations into the kingdom.

The missions of the Christian Church have mapped the territories of the world, have made for themselves grammars and lexicons of all languages, have mastered the histories of heathen religions, and are planting the seats of Christian education in the capitals of paganism. It is in the very nature of Christian truth, when once it has intrenched itself in the convictions and experiences of the human soul, to propagate itself. Every successful mission station becomes at once the headquarters of a new moral community, the fountain of pure ideals and of spiritual enlightenment, the nucleus of a new civilization. The historian or the traveler who in these days seeks to minify the significance of Christian missions is both benighted and belated.

A world congress, composed of elect men from the ends of the earth—of active missionaries, of representative clergymen, of noted scholars, of laymen of international reputation—counseling together in the spirit of sustained enthusiasm as to the best methods of utilizing

and harmonizing the forces of missions for the more speedy Christianizing of the heathen world, is a movement big with history and prophecy. When it is remembered that missions as a distinct institution are really of recent origin, and when it is sought to measure their splendid moral achievements, or to understand the growing conviction and enthusiasm with which the entire Christian world gives them its support, there is furnished a vision which should put to shame all our skepticism. Christian missions, as justly measured, carry in themselves the promise and potency of the world's conquest to Christ.

The rediscovery of the historic Christ, and the new uncovering of the great doctrines of the divine Fatherhood and of human brotherhood as set forth in his gospel, are themselves facts that are to have bearings of untold significance upon the world-progress of the kingdom. Providentially, there has been a long preparation and converging of events for the world advent of Jesus the Christ. Through missionary literature, through the wide invasion of Western thought into Oriental civilizations, through the increasing numbers of elect young minds from the Orient who are being educated in the Christian universities of the West, and by ways innumerable, it, as a distinct phenomenon of this age, would seem to be the fact that Christ is moving irresistibly onward into all the seats of the world's thinking to take his rightful place as Saviour and Sovereign.

Wherever Christ secures for himself full recognition, that recognition carries with it a quality of conquest which it is not easy to define or to measure. Christ

himself has compared it to the leaven in the measure of meal. The influence of Christ's character and teaching goes nowhere without becoming a pervasive and transforming force in human society. It sweetens the social atmosphere as the very breath of heaven, and from its inspiration there come new and creative ideals for the shaping of human character. Morally it is an influence which causes the desert to blossom as the rose. Broadly measured, no better illustration of the leavening influence of the kingdom need be asked than is furnished in the contrast between the moral character of present Western civilizations and that of Rome, for instance, in the reign of Nero. Historians who cannot be personally charged with undue leanings toward Christianity are authority for the statement that the changes for betterment between these two periods are most largely due to Christianity. Rome, in the time referred to, stood at the acme of pagan civilization. This same Rome has given laws of a high character to all subsequent civilizations. But in that Rome the sexual relations were unregulated by wholesome laws, and were practically of the most depraved order. The wife was the chattel of her husband, the instrument of his caprice. Infanticide was a general and unchecked crime. The sacredness of human life was a fact unrecognized and unregulative in the public thought. Later in the history of this same great civilization, in the Coliseum were seats for sixty thousand spectators, and the most fascinating amusement in the world's capital, the fighting to the death of trained gladiators, or the casting of slaves and of helpless women to the wild beasts in the arena, filled these seats with multitudes who gaped and

gloated over scenes of human butchery. In this Rome eleemosynary institutions, such as homes for orphans, asylums for the blind, hospitals for the sick and wounded, were unknown.

We need not stop to picture the contrast which present Western civilization shows as against those ancient conditions. Western civilization, as we have much occasion to know, is in many capital features far from ideal. But, as compared with the best that Rome exhibited, the present, in the matter of all the humanities, in the sphere of all social and moral ideals, seems like a far step toward the establishment of the kingdom of God among men. The fruits of the kingdom, such as the growth of justice toward all men; the exaltation and protection of womanhood; legislation to guard the sacred rights of childhood; the vast multiplication of benevolent endowments for the unfortunate, the sick, and the poor; universal provision for the education of children; increasing legislation in the interests of labor; the humanizing of the prison systems; systematic mitigation of the horrors of war in the humane treatment and exchange of prisoners; the growing conviction among nations of the necessity of abolishing war and of settling international disputes before some common tribunal, such as the Hague Court—these, and nameless other beneficent facts, show the advent, the marshaling, and the progress of a movement which can but result in the divine conquest of the world.

History itself furnishes inspiration for the most optimistic forecast for the future of humanity. The very machinery of modern life reinforces this prophecy.

Every great and labor-saving invention makes a call for a better manhood. Men of the highest type of ability and integrity, as never before, are called for to take charge and direction of the vast business and social organisms of the time. The very necessities of the business world make it increasingly imperative that the men who are to hold the representative and responsible positions shall be men not only of high ability, but of most unquestioned moral integrity—the kind of man called for in the Christian ideal. And so in the evolution of the business and industrial life of the world there is a conspiracy of conditions toward the development of the very kind of character through which God is finally to establish his kingdom among men.

To Christian faith there is, and can be, no valid ground for discouragement. The kingdom is of God's own purpose. We at our best, probably, have but a poor measurement of God's diagram for humanity. We are impatient. We see great wrongs that need righting, darkness that needs to be dissipated, wanderers that seem dying for want of rescue, and we are either perturbed with a soul-consuming desire to do God's work all at once or we are paralytic from despair. God is patient. He is sure of his goal. There is not a single aimless or mistaken line in his large diagram of human history. He will make no failure. He is not miserly of time. With him a thousand years are as a single day. There is much to prompt the belief that, as measured by human thinking, God works slowly toward his divine ends. But he never forgets, he never turns aside, he will work continuously, unfailingly, until

finally the earth itself shall be made beauteous as the heritage of his Son.

"Red of the dawn!
Is it turning a fainter red? So be it, but when shall we lay
The ghost of the brute that is walking and haunting us yet, and be free?
In a hundred, a thousand winters? Ah! what shall our children be,
The men of a hundred thousand, a million summers away?"

CHRIST AND THE MODERN AGE

It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character, which, through all the changes of eighteen centuries, has filled the hearts of men with an impassioned love, and has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments, conditions; has not only been the highest pattern of virtue, but the highest incentive to its practice.—LECKY.

Is it a mere accident or an evil fate that just at this moment Christendom should have been called, as it were, into the very presence of Jesus of Nazareth, and should be face to face with him as no Christian century has been since the first? Is it for nothing that this Divine Apparition should have come forth once more before the eyes of men, that this Voice which speaks in such great accents of the infinite value of the human soul should have been heard anew by human ears? Is it for nothing that just when this great temptation has come to the rich and powerful peoples to treat the weaker and poorer as mere instruments of their avarice and lust and pride, the solemn shadow of the cross should fall between, and just when the pride of earthly empire is at its highest the vision of the Divine Kingdom should turn its glories dim for all the keener eyes? What Christian man at least can believe it? To me, it seems wiser to say, "Oh the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!"—D. S. CAIRNS.

The very God! think, Abib; dost thou think?
So the All-great were the All-loving too—
So through the thunder comes a human voice,
Saying, "O heart I made, a heart beats here!
Face my hands fashioned, see it in myself!
Thou hast no power, nor canst conceive of mine;
But love I gave thee, with myself to love,
And thou must love me who have died for thee!"

—BROWNING.

CHAPTER XII

CHRIST AND THE MODERN AGE

The Christ of the Gospels, viewed in the broadest history and in the most searching light of to-day, loses no claim to supreme divinity. In the process of ages manners, customs, laws, literatures, change. The birth of new sciences, the evolution of new laws, have given new ideals and new forms to entire civilizations. But Christ is not only the contemporary of all ages, his ideals are immeasurably in advance of the best civilizations, the perfection of his personality is beyond that of all other men, and the most sane and critical thought is giving him more and more undisputed place as the supreme moral sovereign of the world.

It would seem that there ought to be no room for doubt as to the place which Christ came to hold in the minds of the New Testament writers. It would be interesting to trace the evolution of the convictions which these writers finally held concerning him. His advent among them was humble. The material surroundings of his earthly years were those of poverty, and largely of obscurity. He stole upon their imagination by no parade of pomp or of retinue, by none of the outward trappings of power or of authority. But in some way they came to believe in him as the Divine Son of God, and in their worship, their convictions, their love, they ranked him as the rightful Saviour, Judge, and Sovereign of the world. And this culminating conviction was no passing emotion with them. In its

support they heroically endured persecution and death itself.

It is not reasonable to assume that the convictions and conduct of these disciples were inspired by anything less than a great reality. Their lives were too serious, their convictions too deep, their love too joyous, their zeal too unremitting, their loyalty too heroic, to permit us for a moment to believe that their faith rested upon a mere impulse, or was inspired by some passing vision. If men could ever be assumed to be moved by profound realities, or possessed by the divinest truth, these were the men who in the Pentecostal morning of the Church espoused the doctrines and linked themselves with the destinies of Christianity. The whole life of early Christianity, from its baptismal anointing in the upper room in Jerusalem to the time when the last book of the New Testament was written, is not only entitled to, but asserts for itself, a most significant place among the epoch-making forces of history. And the one significant thing, the one wonder of the whole movement, is that Christ, who was born in a manger, who was a carpenter of Nazareth, who in the days of his greatest success was a homeless wanderer, and who at last was crucified between two thieves, was himself the source, the life, and the abiding inspiration of this history.

The public life of Christ at longest was very brief. But there was something about him so unique, so compelling of attention, so benign in ministry, so authoritative in teaching, so lofty in claim, so spotless in character, as very early to impress the masses and the authorities that a most unusual personality had made his advent

among men. By the authorities of the temple Jesus came early to be considered as a radical, as one whose mission was iconoclastic in its relations to the time-honored traditions and usages of the Judaic religion. The enmity toward him of scribes and rulers became increasingly intensified until at last it settled into the bitter and determined purpose to destroy his influence by the destruction of his life. If his history were to end here, it were no common thing that one with his known lineage and environment should have become the subject of such general attention, should be the center of so much adulation and of so much contention. He spent the closing period of his life in and about Jerusalem, where he was most conspicuously the object of both popular enthusiasm and of official enmity. That his disciples should worship him as God's Anointed Son, that the multitudes should wait with enthusiasm upon his teaching, that the rulers should plot against his life, all evidenced his extraordinary character.

Death furnishes the most decisive test as to the abiding quality of one's fame and influence. It usually ends both. The scribes and the rulers reasoned that if they could put an end to Christ's life his influence and his cause would die with him. But death, so far from defeating Christ, seemed to be but a necessary condition of making more secure the fame of his name and the triumph of his mission. Within six weeks after his lifeless body had been laid in the tomb he more than ever was the central figure in the thought of all Judea. On a given day his disciples, filled with a great inspiration, stood up and proclaimed his resurrection from the dead, and preached the necessity of

repentance and faith in his name as the one only Saviour whom God has given to men. The preaching of Pentecost was like a proclamation from heaven, thousands, including many among the scribes and rulers, also those who had joined in the very clamor for Christ's crucifixion, yielding instantly to its persuasion. No contrast could be greater than this: on one day a scourged and apparently helpless victim perishing on the cross of a malefactor; a few days later, the capital city agitated to its rim over the fact that Christ was alive and was openly preached as the God-given Saviour and Judge of the world.

But this contrast, wonderful as it is, is but a typical incident in the history of the New Testament Christ. His death, so far from ending his influence, seems to have marked the fountain source of some of the most enduring and widespread historic movements and inspirations which have engrossed the thought and stirred the activities of mankind. The institution which we know as the Christian Church may be traced for its origin to the open door of Christ's sepulcher. Since that date nineteen centuries have gone, centuries which have marked the greatest changes and the most marvelous advances in human history. Not a single nation in Europe which was alive then exists now. The American continent, the seat of present great empires, was then absolutely unknown. Not one of the great inventions which in modern days have multiplied man's industrial capacity a thousandfold was then even dreamed of. The great sciences which have given man a new mastery of nature, which have opened upon his vision the depths of immensity, and which have furnished

his thought with vast new philosophies of existence, were all unknown. These centuries have been at once the most destructive and the most creative in history. Under their crumbling touch the mightiest structures of ancient skill have perished. In their creative atmospheres olden creeds, philosophies, and religions have been superseded. But a marvelous thing is that, amid all the destructive and constructive forces of these centuries, the single institution of the Christian Church, the institution founded by Jesus Christ, the one institution which bears his name, and which is without significance save as it promotes his mission and gospel among men—this institution has not only survived through all changes and through all centuries, but it has spread itself mightily over the known earth; and to-day its faith is more buoyant, its forces more mighty, and its plans for world conquest more confident than ever before.

It might be charged that the Church has been characterized by all the defects of a human institution. Let the reply be, Yes. In its nominal ranks there have always been men, some of them powerful, who themselves have not been governed by the spirit of its Founder. Whole sections of the Church, through human abuses, have sometimes been corrupt. All this must be sadly admitted. But it remains true that, taken by and large, the Church has existed in all ages, in ages of darkness and of cruelty, in ages of ignorance and of superstition, as the most enlightening, the most humanizing, the most inspiring and uplifting agency in human history. It has brought civilization to the barbarian, education and enlightenment to benighted peoples,

humane ministries to helpless age, to the sick, the suffering, the poor; it has created around womanhood an atmosphere of sanctity, instilled into civilization a sacred sense of human life, has been the evangel of righteousness to the world, and has transformed and inspired the lives of multitudes, otherwise helpless and hopeless, by bringing to them a divine, a sin-pardoning and heaven-revealing Saviour.

The Church has been the great inspirer and educator of humane and righteous ideals. It may be claimed, and truthfully, that very many benevolent agencies are at work in human society which are not directed or controlled by the Church. But it may be equally asserted that these very agencies were born in an atmosphere which itself has been made humane and benevolent by centuries of Christian influence. It is not my purpose to enlarge upon the history of the Christian Church. The Church speaks for itself. Its record furnishes beyond comparison the most valuable of all histories for the last nineteen hundred years. It has been the fountain, as not all other institutions together, of the best ideals of righteousness, of moral education, of spiritual inspirations and hopes for humanity. The fact to be emphasized is that this institution was founded by Jesus Christ. He is the supreme object of its worship and its service. Its sole mission is to build up his kingdom and to magnify his name. If Christ were God, then the Church has an adequate cause for its being; if Christ be not divine, then it must remain a great and unexplained enigma of history.

It is necessary to recur to the literature of the New Testament that through it we may look a little more

closely and distinctively upon the person of the Christ. Within a period beginning about twenty-five years after the death of Christ, and thence on to about the close of the first century, there were written all the books of the New Testament. In this literature there are contained the germinal statement of all Christian teaching, vivid sketches of the origin and early life and character of the Church, and, central to all, the portraiture of the Christ, a character so unique, so perfect, so divine in function and in teaching, as to have commanded increasingly the study and the admiration of the ages. I am quite aware of the methods by which it has been assumed that the pictures of the Christ presented in the New Testament are not genuinely those of a historic person, but are the products of idealizing processes by which a truly wonderful man had in the minds of his followers and admirers come to be transformed and apotheosized into the semblance of a God. It is my conviction that the grounds for such a theory have been amply and critically searched, and that they are found, in the light of most competent scholarship, to be utterly unsustaining of the theory itself. On general principles, it is unreasonable to attribute to the writers of the New Testament, one or all of them together, the spiritual, moral, and artistic insight which would permit them, by any processes of idealizing whatsoever, to evolve such a character as that which is presented in the Christ of the New Testament. To believe such a theory would be to credit a few ordinary men, men whose limitations are quite well ascertained, with the creation of a character such as not all the art and literature of the ages com-

bined have been able to produce. The matchless picture of Christ is in the New Testament because the matchless character of the Christ was historic. Christ is not a literary creation. The writers, in a spirit of fidelity, in the mood of artless truth, wrote in the records the facts about Christ as they were known not only by themselves, but by a multitude of witnesses. There is abundant evidence that they were unequal to the translation into their literary forms of Christ's character and teachings. Christ was so much greater, so much more wonderful, than themselves as always to transcend their ability to give him adequate portraiture. These early writers, so far themselves from exhausting the facts which they record, have given historic data of the Christ so potential in quality as to challenge increasingly the devout and critical scholarship of all subsequent ages. The most exhaustive study of the Christ of the Gospels shows conclusively that so far from the world's having outgrown him, he stands morally and intellectually in advance of the latest age. He is clearly, and without a rival, the transcendent spiritual teacher and moral sovereign of the twentieth century.

As has been indicated, the modern world has become wonderfully rich in material and subjects which challenge human interest. The lands and seas of earth have been universally explored. The sources of natural wealth have been assiduously sought in all climes. A world-wide commerce has united the ends of the earth in the bonds of a common interest. Electricity and the printer's art now furnish to a world-democracy of readers the daily history of the race. Science has made the modern man familiar with the processes of nature in

earth and sea and sky. The modern world has developed great universities and training schools which, commanding the best appliances of learning, are sending forth in increasing numbers into every field of investigation trained and expert seekers after truth. This is a day preëminently of peerless research and of scientific analysis. All histories, all philosophies, all creeds of the past are subjected with inquisitorial severity to the searchlight and dissection of most expert critical methods. The ghosts of superstition and demons of ignorance are being driven from their ancient haunts. The world in all fields of investigation, in discovery, in science, in art, in invention, in commerce, in history, in literature and philosophy, has in this modern age unfolded a bewildering wealth of subjects which summon to their study the best trained and the most thoughtful minds of the race. Of the modern investigator it may be said that his ruling passion is the search for truth. In any field where demonstration is possible he takes nothing for granted. He approaches history, traditions, creeds, demanding that they uncover to him their naked facts—the truths on which they rest. Such are some of the characteristic features of the era through which the world is now passing.

Is there any room in such a world as this for the memory of a Syrian peasant, born nineteen hundred years ago in conditions of obscurity and poverty? Is there any reason why the character or the mission of a wandering and homeless Teacher, himself the companion of Galilean fishermen, should have any place in the crowded history, or why he should receive attention from the learned teachers, of the present? If there were not

something marvelously unique in the person and history of Jesus of Nazareth such questions, of course, would never be suggested. The world of modern thought is like a surging sea in which nothing survives save that which is moored to living interests. But the most luminous lightspot in this surge of modern thought, the center to which converge the most serious interests and the profoundest thinking of our times, is that which is marked by the cross of Jesus Christ. For some reason the time-era of the last nineteen centuries and the best civilizations of the world not only bear his name, but in these latest decades his place in history, his character, his mission, have challenged a more critical examination, have stirred more profound thought, have inspired the writing of more books, than any other single subject which has appealed to the human mind.

The discussion of Christ and his mission has not been of a neutral, of a one-sided, character. It has been conducted from all sources and from all standpoints of view. While his admirers, worshipers, and defenders have been an ever-increasing host, the skeptic and the hostile student, armed with the keenest criticism, have wrought with all human skill to destroy his claims to divinity. Nothing is more interesting or more reassuring than to observe the final effect of all hostile criticism upon Christ's historic standing. Men have arisen to fame because of their brilliant onsets against the divinity of his character. In recent times, Strauss, Baur, Renan, and many others, a whole galaxy of brilliant scholars, have elaborated theories and special criticism which for the time have seemed to deal stag-

gering, if not fatal, blows against the cherished views of Christianity concerning its Founder.

For brief periods, here and there, the destructive critic has seemed to hold his place strongly in the field. But, in every case, it has only required time for the Christian scholar to investigate when the grounds have been cleared and the criticisms demolished. Since the day when the Jewish mob assaulted Pilate's judgment-seat the clamor for the destruction of Christ has never ceased. In every age somebody has prepared a costly tomb for his final repose. But from every Calvary and every sepulcher prepared by his foes Christ has emerged with enriched laurels and with a more fully acknowledged sovereignty. The clear, plain fact is that the critics have been able to work no impairment to his highest claims, to effect no check upon his growing fame. At the worst, they have been but unwilling contributors to the enlargement of his place in the knowledge, affections, and worship of mankind. The real place which Christ now holds in the world's thought admits of no comparison. If in this latest generation there could be gathered a congress of the world's elect souls, including kings, statesmen, ecclesiastics, scholars, scientists, great captains of merchandise and of industry, the advent of Jesus Christ to the presence of such a company would morally compel their falling upon their faces in worship at his feet. There would be no man among them all that could claim any measure of equality with him. There is no character in all human history which approaches him either in fame or influence. In moral excellence he eclipses all the saints, in wisdom all the philosophers. His spiritual empire in the world is without boundaries.

A fact to be noted is that Christ has steadily outgrown the best conceptions of his own followers. The Church is in possession to-day of a larger and richer Christ than was apprehended by the men of the New Testament. This is not because he was not just as divine then as now, but because a larger light rests upon his personality. Devout Christian thought has a larger translation of his character than was even possible to the apostolic age. This process will continue. The Christ of the thirtieth century will be a far richer revelation to the world than is the Christ of to-day. All this must be explained by the fact of a continuous growth of insight, of spiritual apprehension in the life and mind of the Church.

How is the advent of such a character into history to be accounted for? There is no law of evolution that explains him. If he were merely human there should be some antecedent conditions which would unfold to us the secret of his unique and matchless character. These conditions do not exist. There appears but one true and sufficient explanation of Jesus Christ, and this is the one repeatedly set forth in the New Testament. He came forth direct from God. His genealogy is not to be sought in any philosophy of evolution. He was not a child of evolution. He is the Lord of Life who himself has directed the very processes of evolution. By the might of his own creative word the worlds themselves were formed. No less a hypothesis is at all adequate to deal with his history. The critics fail to destroy him, or even to impair his influence; he transcends the best ideals of his own worshipers; his kingdom of truth steadily advances against all the

powers of darkness, superstition, and error; and all this because he is the Divine Son whose mission it is to translate the world into God's kingdom. His rule will not lessen, but, like the stone in the prophet's vision, it will grow till it shall fill the whole earth. Wherefore God shall also highly exalt him, and give him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

CHRIST AND THE MODERN AGE
(Continued)

"Step by step since time began
We see the steady gain of man;
For still the new transcends the old,
In signs and tokens manifold;
Slaves rise up men; the olive waves
With roots deep set in battle graves."

The crying need of our own age in the industrial sphere is the deepening and diffusion of the sense of the Common Good. . . . If it were possible to imbue capitalist and laboring class alike with this motive, the whole sordid struggle would change its character, a progressive *concordat* between them would be established, and society would enter on a new and nobler epoch. Suppose that the capitalist could be brought to view his work as a social function, and his gains as a trust bestowed upon him for the public good. Suppose that the laborer viewed his work as public service, and were able to look upon his wages as controlled in amount by the same consideration of public advantage; suppose that devotion to the common weal became a passion in the sphere of economic life, as it has often been historically under militarism, would not the whole situation be radically changed? The sting would be taken out of labor troubles, and the poison out of the blood of the social organism. Social inequalities would remain, but there would be reason in them which could be recognized by the reason of the individual.—D. S. Cairns.

This is the gospel of labor—ring it, ye bells of the kirk—
The Lord of Love came down from above, to live with the men who work.
This is the rose that he planted, here in the thorn-cursed soil—
Heaven is blest with perfect rest, but the blessing of earth is toil.

—Henry van Dyke.

CHAPTER XIII

CHRIST AND THE MODERN AGE (CONTINUED)

THERE is one great and conclusive argument for the divine mission of Jesus Christ which, I am impressed, has not been too freely used and accredited in the general discussions of his history. This is the argument furnished from the experimental faith and life of the Church. Christ not only appeared as a moral teacher, but he came to fulfill the functions of a Redeemer and Saviour in behalf of a sinful human race. It was predicted that his name should be called "Jesus" because he would save his people from their sins. His gospel proclaims that through his cross he has wrought redemption and salvation for sinners. He comes to man as a Divine Saviour. It is his office to pardon sins, to cancel guilt, and to impart divine peace to sin-smitten, penitent souls. He himself promised the abiding companionship of a Divine Comforter to his faithful followers. He came to impart both the fact and the joy of Sonship in God's family to as many as should believe on his name.

There is in all this the suggestion of some great divine inworking in the human soul. If Christ really fulfills these promises in the lives of men there can be nothing fictitious or neutral in the results. The soul in which he works this change of forgiveness and to whom is imparted the gift and sense of Sonship has really come into a new life, into a new and divine world. It is reasonable that this change should be a matter of profound experience. The sun rising out of the night and

flooding the world with its light does not work a greater apparent change upon the face of nature than really takes place in the human soul in which Christ has wrought the forgiveness of sin, and to whom is imparted the joyful sense of Sonship in God's household.

The fact of this divine inworking is not left to the mere conjecture of the individual. The promise is definite that the Spirit—the Divine Comforter—shall himself bear witness with our spirits that we are born of God. The evidence of the pardoned life through Jesus Christ is experimental. The methods and impressions of the saving Spirit may be as various as human individuality. But it may be accepted as a universal fact that the pardoned soul lives in possession of a divine peace—a peace not born of earth. The religion of Jesus Christ is demonstrably experimental. It utters its testimony in the soul of its recipient not less certainly than does the grateful transition from winter to springtime report itself to the senses.

And so, through all its history, the Church of Christ has been a witnessing Church. Out of its living experiences of salvation have been born the loftiest hymns of gratitude. Spiritual literatures, full of inspiration and sweetness, pure as waters from the river of life, have in all ages fairly sung themselves from out the hearts of saints whose conscious communion with Jesus Christ has filled them with a joy like that of heaven. It is not necessary to assert, and it would not be true, that the usual state of Christian experience is one of rapture. It is true that to multitudes in their clear moods of faith in Christ, in their conscious personal relation to him, there have come spiritual experiences

as uplifting and memorable as a transfiguration. Such experiences are valuable as giving altitude and vision to the soul. But to the great mass of Christian disciples the rapturous experience is exceptional. In all, however, the graces and fruits of the Spirit grow in the measure of their faith and obedience toward Christ, and these by a consciousness of the highest value are certain of the faith and the hope that is within them.

In all the Christian centuries an innumerable company of sane, thoughtful, and calm people have been the most firm witnesses to the truth of Christianity. They have been so confident of their personal salvation in Jesus Christ that sooner than to renounce their faith and their hopes they would prefer the fate of martyrdom. The teachers of Christianity, the preachers of the gospel, have in all ages been among the foremost of their times in intelligence and in character. These have not only had their own cherished Christian experiences, but they have been the expounders of the faith, the men who have given rational and logical expression to the doctrines of Christian truth. It would be wonderful indeed if all the generations of Christian teachers and preachers, many of whom have been eminent as saints, had given their thought, their learning, their energies only to a service of fables! It is safe to say that no testimony appealing to human judgment is more worthy of credence than that which has been furnished for the truth of Christianity by such men. The living testimony of untold thousands to their faith in Jesus Christ, and the steady, persistent utterance of this testimony to the world through sixty genera-

tions, would surely seem valuable evidence for the divinity of the Christian religion.

The radical transformation of character which has been in innumerable cases effected in the name of Christ is a phenomenon which cannot be rationally ignored. Where one's life from inheritance and education has been habitually gentle and refined it is not to be expected that any radical change in outward manner would ensue from the entrance of such upon the Christian life. But the demonstrated capacity of the Christian religion to transform apparently most helpless sinners into saints has in all ages been one of its glories. When the Spirit of Christ enters into a man it carries with it the kind of power which makes the vile pure, the liar truthful, the drunken sober, the cruel kind, the brutal gentle, and which gives to the very slaves of evil habits the freedom and beauty of a redeemed manhood.

There could be imposed upon no reformatory claim a severer test than that it be required radically to change the confirmed habits of an evil life, and to set the will and passion of such a life in the direction of purity and righteousness. Yet this is a test to which the Christian religion fearlessly submits itself, and never, when fairly made, with the result of failure. A sudden and radical change in the convictions and habits of a strong character is one of the last things to be philosophically expected. Yet, Christianity has wrought this kind of change in instances without number.

A conspicuous and familiar example is Saint Paul. It has been attempted to show that Paul was a sort of visionary character, possibly a victim of epilepsy, and, therefore, an unreliable witness in his testimony to the

power of Christ over his own life. This assumption will not bear examination. It is too absurd to challenge attention, much less respect. He was a man of imperial intellect, while in moral courage and achievement he stands well-nigh peerless. It is true he had a warm heart, an emotional nature, but he was as sane a man as ever lived. His testimony to Christ admits of no understanding save on the basis of his personal experience. His experience can be accounted for only on the ground of its absolute genuineness. It was an experience which changed suddenly, radically, utterly, the purposes, the emotions, the conduct of one of the most invincible of men. This is a history which cannot be explained by any trivial philosophy. Saint Paul himself accounts for it solely from the fact that he had received a direct revelation from the risen and glorified Christ. And this experience was no passing impulse in his life. From the moment of his conversion he was supremely possessed by new motives and convictions. Under their sway and inspiration he gave himself to a self-sacrificing and unremitting Christian service which has challenged the wonder and admiration of the centuries. In obedience to his convictions he finally went to heroic martyrdom. Surely, Saint Paul's faith must have been based upon some great reality. Men of the stamp of Saul of Tarsus do not pay such cost of service, such tribute of sacrifice and suffering, and finally martyrdom itself, in response to the mere promptings of some baseless dream.

At the age of thirty-two Augustine had run the entire gamut of sinful living. A young man, educated, and of unusually strong and brilliant intellect, he seemed

a confirmed debauchee. With such a history and character, his eye one day fell upon the following passage from Saint Paul's Epistles: "Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness. . . . Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfill the lusts thereof." This passage went like a dart through his soul. In that very hour he was vividly converted and became a disciple of Jesus Christ. Afterward a bishop in the Church, he is known in history as the most influential theologian in the Christian centuries, giving a form to theology which was dominant and well-nigh universally accepted for fifteen hundred years. But from the hour of his conversion to the day of his death he walked worthy of his high calling.

Transformations thus wrought in the characters and lives of eminent men like Saint Paul and Saint Augustine are of the greatest significance, but really no more so than the changes wrought through faith in Jesus Christ in the characters of apparently the most hopeless and abandoned sinners. The indubitable historic fact is that multitudes of sinners, vile and desperate sinners, have been wondrously redeemed and saved through his name.

Jerry McAuley spent his later years living the life of a saint, and died at last in sublime assurance of heaven. This is one of his characteristic testimonies in the Water Street Mission: "I was a thief, an outcast, yes, a regular bum; but I gave my heart to God, and he saved me from whisky, and tobacco, and everything that's wicked and bad. I used to be one of the worst drunkards in the Fourth Ward, but Jesus came into my heart, and took the whole thing out of me, and I don't want it any more."

Samuel H. Hadley, for nearly twenty years Jerry McAuley's successor as superintendent of the Water Street Mission, a few years ago went out of life bearing with him the love and respect of the best Christian citizens of New York. Yet this man had gone down to the most degrading depths of sin. He was thought to be hopeless; he was hopeless of himself. But one night in the mission, while kneeling in prayer, he felt that Christ with all his love and power had come into his life. He says: "From that moment until now I have never wanted a drink of whisky, and have never seen money enough to make me take one. The precious touch of Jesus's cleansing blood in my soul took from my stomach, my brain, my blood, and my imagination the hell-born desire for whisky. . . . One other thing has never ceased to be a wonder: I was so addicted to profanity that I would swear in my sleep. I could not speak ten consecutive words without an oath. The form or thought of an oath has never presented itself to me since. Bless his dear name forever. . . . A few weeks afterward the dear Lord showed me that I was leaning on tobacco, and that I had better lean entirely on him. I threw my plug away one night down the aisle of the mission, and the desire was removed. . . . The wonderful mystery of God's love for sinners never ceased to excite the most lively emotions in my breast, and has never become an old story. How the precious, pure, and spotless Saviour could stoop down and bear away my drunkenness and delirium tremens, to this day fills my soul with gratitude. . . . Surely, if any man be in Jesus Christ he is a new creature."

Cases like those of McAuley and Hadley are too

numerous to escape critical attention, too well attested to admit of rational doubt. The late Professor James, of Harvard University, in his stout volume entitled Varieties of Religious Experience, takes account of a large number of striking conversions. He has no patience with any theories that would dispose of such experiences as a mere result of impulse or of temporary excitement. He believes that these experiences are not only most genuine, but that they often result in the radical betterment of character. He was not a man of orthodox Christian faith, but he admitted that these religious uplifts only occur when the human soul is looking up to some power higher than its own.

The phenomena of religious conversion and of consequent transformation of character are, in view of their frequency and importance, as certainly entitled to scientific and philosophic consideration as are any other phenomena of which we know. Mr. Harold Begbie, in his remarkable book, Twice Born Men, has, as a matter of philosophical study from the fruits of mission work in a single and comparatively small section of London, selected a few characters which this work has lifted from the lowest and most dissolute depths of submerged life. These characters, by some power seemingly not less divine than miraculous, have been so transformed in taste, in habit, in action, in their outward garb, as to walk and shine in the very neighborhoods of their former evil haunts like saints.

If the philosophic critic will once divest himself of his antireligious bias; if he will dismiss all temptation to pass them by simply because they come under the class of religious experiences, he will find in these cases

of conversion as interesting phenomena as ever challenged his critical thought. And, let it be fully conceded, it is highly legitimate that all these phenomena should be subjected to the test of closest psychological scrutiny. The field in which these religious experiences and transformations occur is certainly one which it is the function of psychological science to explore. But when psychology has done its best to search and to analyze these experiences it can do no more than to report processes. It has no faculty for discovering or revealing the sufficient cause to which the marvels of result are to be traced. It might be well to listen to the testimony of the subjects themselves of these experiences. With remarkable unanimity and emphasis they ascribe the beneficent changes that have come into their lives to the wonder-working grace of Jesus Christ, and to this alone. In their new-found joy they say:

"I have seen the face of Jesus:
Tell me not of aught beside.
I have heard the voice of Jesus:
All my soul is satisfied."

In the strength of companionship with him multitudes whom sin has smitten into ruin and helplessness have been morally resurrected, and have gone forth into a new life, emancipated from evil habit and temptation, cleansed at the very fountains of their thought.

Surely, if God has instituted a method of saving sinners, the severest test of this method would be furnished in cases such as here presented. But when fairly tried on its own conditions the grace of Jesus Christ has been fully equal to the needs, however extreme the case. Among all other remedial agencies known to

men, is there any that has shown itself equal to working such miracles of moral healing? Not one. Not all philosophy, science, and human skill combined have been able to save and transform the moral outcast. But the gospel of Jesus has been doing this humanly impossible thing all through its history. And this is what Christ himself declared: "The Son of man came into this world to seek and to save that which was lost."

But for the purposes of testimony we need not confine our survey of the saving power of Christ to what it may do for extreme cases of those far gone in vicious living. If we would rightly value Christ's gracious mission we must study its fruits as seen in the saner and sweeter atmospheres of human society. Faith in Jesus Christ and obedience to his gospel have developed the finest manhood and womanhood of the world. The most beautiful, pure, and intelligent home-life of earth is found in the Christian community. Christianity has not only given birth to the most perfect systems of education, but has furnished the highest ideals for the development and training of character. Faith in and fellowship with the Christ of the New Testament have brought to the lives of individuals the divinest values. Under the inspiring ideals of the gospel men have learned to love righteousness and to hate meanness, have been kept pure and sweet in speech, in imagination, in habit. The gospel has given sanctity to domestic love, and children have been born into homes whose moral atmospheres are sweetened as with the very breath of heaven. The gospel of Jesus has brought divinest consolation in hours of bereavement, has furnished sustaining grace on beds of pain, has been a sure staff of support when

earthly fortunes have failed. It furnishes to old age the vision and cheer of heavenly hope, and at the very last enables the saint to pillow his head in peace and to go out of this life in the transports of a victorious faith.

Surely, if we are to judge Jesus Christ in the light of his exalted character, and by the fruits of his gospel, we can give him no less a rank than that which is ascribed to him in the New Testament. He came forth from heaven to be the Saviour of the world. He is the one whom God raised from the dead and hath set at his own right hand in heavenly places.

There are some questions of first importance: Is Christianity practicable? Can the example and teaching of Christ be made the basis for the government of human society? If we were forced to give a negative answer to these questions it would be to admit that Christianity in its final promise is a failure, that Christ is unequal to the Kingship of the world.

The fundamental facts underlying the governmental problem of Christianity are the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man. The obligations growing out of these facts are voiced in two great commandments: first, that which enjoins supreme love to God; second, the requirement that a man shall love his neighbor as himself. The logic of the relations cannot be questioned. If God is our Father, then it is a supreme duty to love him, to obey him, and, so far as possible, ourselves to become like him. If all men are our brothers, then all men without exception have a claim upon our love and upon our service.

If now we are careful to survey the social ills which afflict society, the unscrupulous competition and flagrant

dishonesty which too often appear in the world of trade, the wide and seemingly irrepressible conflicts which appear between labor and capital, the gross corruptions in politics, corruptions which darken the very annals of legislation, the caste feeling which separates race from race and class from class—we shall find that every one of these evils persists because the facts of God's Fatherhood and of human brotherhood are not practically accepted and acted upon in human society. It is a fundamental aim of the gospel of Christ to create in the hearts of individuals and in society those motives and dispositions which will make impossible the continuance of these evils.

Is a practical Christian rule making headway in the earth? For answer, take an inventory of the humanities that inhere in modern civilization. Measure the popular and growing demand for righteousness in trade, in municipal government, in legislation, and in international relations. Note the indignant and sustained protest of society against such iniquities as the white-slave traffic and the gross agencies of intemperance. Count the splendid institutions of charity which shine as very gems in the crown of modern civilization. Study the spirit, the scope and success of modern missionary movements. In obedience to the final command of Christ the universal Church has within the last century organized missionary agencies which are planting the schools and propaganda of Christianity in all the centers of paganism. The success of missionary enterprises is such as to give promise of a day not far distant when whole nations now lying in heathendom shall be Christian. These, and innumerable kindred agencies of good, are

all the fruitage of Christianity, and illustrate the firm and increasing hold which Christ has upon civilization. Indeed, the moral and humane advances of the best civilizations of to-day over the best paganisms of the past are but an index of the increasing and beneficent rule which Christianity is surely and widely asserting in the movements of history.

In a previous chapter I have emphasized the relations of service to the kingdom. I recur to the same thought here for the purpose of illustrating the actual place which the example and teaching of Christ have given to service in modern ideals. Service is the one word which, more than any other, expresses the embodiment in action of the spirit of the kingdom. Christ himself illustrates the divine function of service by a wonderful object lesson. He was alone with his disciples in a Jerusalem room. These disciples had been petulantly striving among themselves as to which should have the more honorable rank in the kingdom of Christ. They were full of a carnal ambition each to hold a place by which he should outrank his fellow, so little did they understand the true spirit of their Master's kingdom. The record tells us that Jesus, in the great consciousness of his relationship to God, in the fact that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come out from God and was about to go back to God, arose from the common meal in which they had joined, and taking up a towel and pouring water into a basin proceeded to wash and to wipe the feet of his disciples. There is no parallel to this in history. Here is a divine Being, just come forth from God and about to return to God, with all things—all power—

in his hands, immeasurably more royal than any king, and yet that he might illustrate to his disciples the divinest law of life performs upon them in person what would rank as a most menial service.

Christ teaches that our highest obligation is discharged in service, and the measure of our obligation to serve is the measure of our power, of our resources. Love to God and to man will inspire the spirit of service. But service itself furnishes the best test and measure of one's love. Service furnishes the best evidence of one's sense of responsibility to the kingdom. Christ himself makes not creed, not profession, not official rank in his Church, the test on which men shall finally be approved or condemned—but service. This is the one lesson taught in his vivid description of a last judgment.

Now, if we look deeply into the heart and conviction of our times, we shall find that no voice is clearer, no demand more emphatic, no sentiment more incarnate in modern life, than those which call upon all men, in the measure of their capacity, to serve the interests of their fellows. The spirit of Christ has so far captivated human thought that men are coming everywhere to feel that if for themselves they would make the most of life and character they must seek out the best methods and channels of service to others. A sense of this fact prompts many a man of wealth, however his gains were gotten, to devise liberal benefactions for the service of human needs. The sordid rich man who is forgetful of the obligation of service which accompanies his wealth, but who is willing to live and die in the selfish direction of the same, is increasingly and justly regarded

as a kind of monstrosity. A living and irrepressible sentiment of the times more and more measures the value of the rich man by the measure of the moral contribution which through his wealth he gives to or withholds from society. But not the rich alone; every man, in the measure of his ability, Christ holds responsible for serving the brotherhood of the kingdom.

The great corollary of the brotherhood of man is the solidarity of human interests and needs. Service alone can fill and satisfy the diagram of these needs, and all service which the real interests of humanity require is essentially noble in itself. Christianity idealizes service, and honors its loyal doer whatever may be the sphere of his task. A perfect world can never come where needed work at any point is left undone. Every true worker, however humble his sphere, is one who in his place is contributing something to the perfection of the kingdom which Christ is building in the world. This fact gives dignity to every act of honest toil. It is not the spirit of Christianity to measure men by their spheres of work, but by their fidelity to duty, their loyalty to their Divine Lord. When the brotherhood of man is recognized there will be no invidious distinctions between men, all of whom are ranked as sons of God.

It may be said without fear of intelligent challenge that every thought which carries inspiration to better living, every invention which adds to the betterment of industrial life, every movement of civilization to a higher plane of character—all are the birth and product of forces clearly embraced in the Christian program. All the great agencies which to-day are really serving

the interests of humanity are agencies which Christ is subsidizing in the building of his kingdom. The kingdom of Christ is alone the kingdom of prophecy. The forces which are working against it, however apparently strong, are forces against which the very stars in their courses are fighting. The testing of every creed and of every philosophy only serves the more convincingly to emphasize the fact that the gospel of Jesus Christ alone promises the noblest character to the individual and the highest weal to society.

In any conceivable earthly state there will always be exceptions to the ideal. Under best human conditions there is likely to be found occasionally the imbecile, the shiftless, the pauper, the criminal. But even with these Christian government will deal with humanest wisdom. There are really no difficult social or civic problems now vexing human thought which would not find best solution if they were really to come under the administration of applied Christian principles. And it may be safely said outside of Christianity there is absolutely no other philosophy, no other gospel, that can give any guarantee of an ideal future for the race.

And so we rest in the assurance that Christ is the ideal King. The principles of his gospel, always adaptive to present needs, are also always far in advance of the world's growth. Christ will never be outgrown, never discrowned. Both the fundamental principles of his teaching and his personal character and example furnish amplest suggestion of principles which may be applied to every emergency of civilization. The very term "Fatherhood of God" is a whole moral legislation in itself. The same is equally true of that other phrase,

"brotherhood of man." Supreme love to God, and perfect love to one's neighbor, as conceptions, carry in themselves the prophecy of paradise regained. The spirit of service as exemplified in the life of Christ, if universally enthroned in human practice, would cause all the desert places of society to blossom as the rose, would leave no material need unsupplied, and would fill the world with the fruits of righteousness and peace.

Christ called himself the "Son of man." In this character he put himself before every man of the race as embodying in himself the absolutely perfect humanity. He was the friend of the rich and privileged in society, though his mission did not require that he should show unto them any special sympathy with their privileged condition. He, though rich, chose for himself a life of poverty. He who was really Lord of the world moved among men as a servant. He was as much a friend of the rich as of the poor, but he was infinitely removed from a disposition to pay any servile tribute to the conditions of material wealth. For his incarnate mission he chose the lot of poverty because thus he could best illustrate God's sympathy with the toiling majorities of mankind. He was himself a carpenter. By all the material conditions of his life he stood on a plane of practical sympathy with the world's humble toilers. Christ classed himself with the very poor, but he never permitted the temptations and trials of poverty to submerge his lofty manhood. Though so poor as to be homeless, he was loyal to duty, pure in spirit, self-forgetful in his service for others, seeking always the welfare of those about him, cheerful and heroic in spirit, loving God supremely. Thus Christ demonstrated the

possibilities of the highest manhood in conditions of poverty, the fact that the noblest character can manifest itself and do its work even in the midst of most unfavorable physical and social environments. And these are lessons which need to translate themselves into the very heart and convictions of modern society.

Much of the trouble with organized labor is that it is cultivating its discontents as against material conditions, seeking enlarging compensation on the basis of a minified service, while at the same time many of its members seem forgetful of those ideals of virtue, of sobriety, of thrift, of loyalty to duty both to God and man, in which alone inhere the higher qualities of manhood. For all these discontented masses Christ has given an infinitely better example for emulation than is furnished in any gospel of socialistic propaganda.

But the practical example of Christ needs to be studied by all classes of society. From first to last he gave himself in a spirit of untiring service. Wherever and in whatever garb human need addressed itself to him, there his ministering hand was outstretched. He did not seek to be ministered unto, but literally to give his life in ministry to others. He taught that it is more blessed to give than to receive. And this is a supreme lesson to get upon the world's heart. Its prophecy may not soon be realized. But when men come to feel that humanity is a real brotherhood, that the structure of society is a sacred thing, a structure so sacred as religiously to demand the highest service of all its members, that it is the very structure through which God is to build his kingdom on earth, then the day of Christ's accepted Kingship will have fully dawned.

And there is no room for despair. God, who sent forth his Son into this world, is enthroned above the misty skies and conflicting currents of human thought. In ways of his own infinite wisdom, and by methods far more effective than are apprehended by human vision, he is shaping and converging events toward the day which will witness the supreme Kingship of Christ among men. The mists are not so thick, nor the conflict of thought so confusing, as to hide from prophetic minds the signs of coming triumph.

If man is a spiritual being, if his primal and deepest needs are of a spiritual character; if God is seeking above all things else also to establish a spiritual reign over the world, then there is the largest prophecy in man's prodigious material conquest of nature itself. The very conquest of physical realms is but a preparation on a vast scale for the successful incoming of Christ's kingdom. Just as the presence of Roman civilization and of Roman highways prepared the way for the initial introduction of the gospel, so the scientific appliances which are now reducing the entire world to a single neighborhood, and bringing the most distant nations into vital commercial and intellectual relationships with each other, thus proving the real solidarity and community of world interests, are all of them a preparation of the highest order for the introduction of the final spiritual rule. Man as chiefly a spiritual being cannot finally rest in any material conquest of nature, however rewarding such conquest. He will ultimately subordinate and consecrate all material resources and appliances to the ends of a spiritual kingdom.

All this must mean—and there should be no attempt

to make it mean less—that the kingdom of Christ shall be finally triumphant because of the in-working upon human thought of the Spirit of God. This kingdom is not a product of nature, not even of human nature. No merely natural progress of man will ever bring it to pass. The kingdom will come through the processes of a divine and universal religious influence. It will mean the reign of Christ in the hearts of men.

And why should not this be expected? The leaven of divine righteousness, a force more powerful than that which holds the worlds in their orbits, is working everywhere in human thought. There is much in history, in present philosophy, in the wide unrest which blindly voices the unsatisfied needs of humanity, to indicate both the need and the promise of a coming era of great spiritual light and power. There have been marked manifestations of God's power in the past. The illumination of the splendid succession of Hebrew prophets, Pentecost, the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the Wesleyan revival, the steady and rising tide of Christian influences throughout the world as witnessed in this modern age—all evidence the stately goings forth of divine power. God's purpose has not changed, nor is his power exhausted. There will yet come to the world a religious sense which will invest life's common duties with sacredness, which will reveal service for the common good as a paramount obligation, which will bring the sanctions of eternity to bear upon all the domestic, industrial, and political relations of life.

The apparent obstacles to this consummation, obstacles which seem to inhere in human nature itself, need not be minified. But no obstacles can thwart the

divine purpose. In some day a new world, making its advent as the holy city which the Revelator saw coming down from God out of heaven, will appear in history. And in that day the tabernacle of God shall be with men, and he shall dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them and be their God.

MIRACLES AND OTHER WONDERS

It is, and always has been, a favorite tenet of mine, that Atheism is as absurd, logically speaking, as Polytheism; and that denying the possibility of miracles seems to me as unjustifiable as speculative Atheism.—Huxley.

The elimination of the miraculous element from the gospel history can never take place without a deep injury or even a total destructive alteration of the entire substance of the Christian religion.—Christlieb.

I realize the improbability of an exception to a generalization sustained by so immense a mass of accordant experience. But, when I think of the alternatives to belief in the resurrection, they all seem to me so much more improbable that I find it easier to accept the one mystery which explains all mysteries. To believe that the faith in the resurrection was a delusion so contradicting all psychological laws, or a myth which was fully developed in a single day, or a falsehood perpetrated by the disciples to bring upon themselves imprisonment and death—to believe that the system of religious faith which has created a new and nobler civilization had its origin in fraud or deception—taxes credulity more than to believe that Jesus rose from the dead.—Professor W. N. Rice.

O will of God, be thou our will!
Then, come or joy or pain,
Made one with thee it cannot be
That we shall wish in vain;
And, whether granted or denied,
Our hearts shall be all satisfied.
—Susan Coolidge.

This earth too small
For Love Divine? Is God not infinite?
If so, his love is infinite. Too small!
One famished babe meets pity oft from Man
More than an army slain! Too small for Love!
Was earth too small to be of God created?
Why then too small to be redeemed?
—Aubrey De Vere.

CHAPTER XIV

MIRACLES AND OTHER WONDERS

It is no overstatement to assert that the intellectual temper of the present concerning miracles is largely skeptical. This skepticism is greatly overdone. It is not sustained by the deepest intelligence. Much of it is simply an echo of an effete and discredited philosophy. The *Deus ex machina* philosophy is dead. This philosophy reduced nature to a machine with which God had about as much relation as a man has to a clock which he periodically winds. The difference would be that God was assumed originally to have started the nature machine and then forever let it alone to run itself. On this theory a miracle would be a most improbable event. It would be something utterly outside the province of the machine. It would indicate nothing less than an invasion by an absentee God into the realm of natural laws for the purpose either of arresting these laws or of imparting to them some new and unusual function. A disciple of this philosophy would most naturally be skeptical as to the possibility of miracles; but, if he accepted the miracle, he would attach to it a thaumaturgical importance, as of a most unusual advent of God to his world.

In the accepted theism of to-day God is thought of as immanent in the universe. Nature is not an independent order. It is not causal in itself. It is simply the vesture or vehicle in which and through which God as creative and directive will manifests himself. He is

the power behind all phenomena. His intelligence ordains nature's methods, and his will empowers their activities. He as the creative and directive will is vitally present in all nature's processes. The poise of the world in its orbit, the blossoming of the spring roses, the ripening of autumn fruit, and the beating of the human heart are alike the products of his activity. Nature in this view is itself a perpetual miracle of God's on-going. Under this philosophy, any miracle that might serve a moral purpose would not *a priori* seem necessarily improbable.

That God's activities in nature are largely characterized by uniformity is evident. So far as the human race and the interest of its civilizations are concerned, this uniformity is a beneficence. Were it not for the known reliability of what we familiarly call the laws of nature, there would be no basis for human society, for education, for industrial organization, nor, indeed, for human progress at all. It is on the basis of this uniformity that there are upbuilt reliably all the interests and structures of human civilization.

But because we are able to discover much valuable uniformity in God's methods, therefore to assume that the ever in-working God might not, or could not, perform a miracle is nothing less than an absurdity of intellect. We certainly must concede to God, only on an infinitely more various scale, the same liberty to combine and to modify the movements of nature that we grant to the human inventor. The genius of man, while always working within the sphere of law, has wrought innumerable wonders by effecting new combinations in nature's processes. It has been one of the

baldest assumptions of SCIENCE, the kind of science which always parades itself in capital letters, that such is the absolute uniformity of nature's laws as to make miracle a physical impossibility. To such assumption it may be replied that not all the wise men of the world know enough about the causal forces in nature to give any certitude to such a theory. Indeed, such knowledge as we have of whole classes of phenomena does not lend itself to this theory at all.

I return, then, to say that under the philosophy of the divine immanence the fact of miracle is not only possible, but under certain conditions may be conceded as rationally probable. God, for all that we know, might work miracles, any number of them, and all entirely within the sphere of what we call nature's laws. It is entirely beyond the province of human knowledge to show that the miracle-working God is a lawbreaker in nature. A miracle is conceivably just as normal an act of God as is the causing of the grasses to grow in the springtime. If, therefore, at any time, for the purpose of impressing himself more distinctly upon the thought and heart of men, God should elect to work miracles, there is in reason no inherent improbability against his so working.

It remains, however, to be said that there is a strong conviction in present religious thought that the Christian system is not now dependent upon the continuance of miracle. Dr. George A. Gordon, one of the foremost religious seers of the age, has written a strong book, Religion and Miracle, in support of this view. If he had undertaken to prove that in Christian history miracles had never occurred it would be perfectly certain that

he had failed of his case. But in the real purpose of his book, which is to show that Christianity is not now dependent for its life and usefulness upon miracle, he has presented a strong and rational view.

That Christ, in the particular age in which his advent occurred, and for the purpose of emphasizing attention to his divine character and mission, should have performed miracles seems not improbable. That Christ actually did perform miracles would appear to be a fact as well authenticated as any historic statement which has come to us from so ancient a period. Than the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead no fact of nineteen hundred years ago would seem to be more certainly attested. Historically, the resurrection of Jesus is the foundation on which is reared the stupendous structure of the Christian Church. Disprove the resurrection of Christ, and the origin of the Church is the most anomalous and most inexplicable event in human history. The difficulty of miracle would by no means be removed if it could be demonstrated that Christ did not rise from the dead. There would then remain the two great miracles of the persistent life and success of the Christian Church and the place of Jesus in history. Neither can be accounted for save on the basis of Christ's resurrection. Let the white light of the most searching investigation be focused upon the origin of Christianity, and the triumphant coming forth of Christ from his sepulcher is the only hypothesis that will rationally and satisfyingly account for the fact. That well-nigh peerless philosophical thinker of our times, the late Dr. Borden P. Bowne, has acutely said of the miracle of the resurrection that, "Without it

not much of the Christian faith would be left, and, having it, we can dispense with most of the rest."

But if one miracle was performed in attestation of Christ's mission it is altogether probable that other miracles may also have occurred as wrought not only by Christ himself, but as well by his authorized agents. For my own part, I would like, at the expense, doubtless, of being thought by some quite unscientific, to declare that the idea of miracles as wrought by Jesus Christ, or by others through power delegated by him, is one which does not give me the slightest disturbance. I am so impressed with the deific character of Christ, I so fully believe in his absolute sovereignty over, in his infinite transcendence of, physical nature, as to make it entirely easy for me to believe that, for the purpose of accentuating a revelation which he might purpose to give to finite minds, the performance of miracle by him would be most reasonably credible. I am content to believe that any miracle by which he might prove or illustrate his sovereignty over nature, so far from doing violence to nature's methods, would be simply a distinctive and inimitable act performed by Him who is alone the Lord of nature's processes.

In a world in which God is immanent there is rational room for prayer. Prayer is a subject of universal interest. There is no more deeply planted instinct in nature than that which prompts man to pray. Man everywhere and in all ages has been a praying creature. The act of prayer is by no means confined to the Hebrew or Christian worshiper. As a phenomenon, it is just as pronounced in pagan and heathen cults as in the religion of the Bible. In some lives the prompting to

pray may seem long silent, the instinct suppressed, but is never eradicated. In some unexpected moment, in some emergency, prayer will leap from the startled heart as a frightened bird from its cover. In hours of smiting stress men who know not God pray that they may find him; and men who have found him delight to pray because they know him.

It is a principle recognized in all the philosophy of nature that wherever there is an instinct there is somewhere in environment a quality which responds to the craving of that instinct. Wherever there is an aptitude there is in nature a correspondence. This is an expression of God's method in his world. To the waterfowl there is given an instinct that prompts its migration from northern to southern seas, or vice versa, and to the same fowl there is also given the instinct which unerringly guides its distant flights along its hitherto unknown journeyings. This is accepted as philosophical. But if God has implanted in the bosom of the waterfowl, for the purposes of its own career, an instinct of infallible guidance, is it reasonable to assume that in the nature of this immeasurably higher being, man, God has permitted the instinct of prayer, the impulse of worship, the irrepressible craving after himself, and only that all this may remain in his bosom an unsatisfied hunger, an unexplained enigma, a mocking lie? This assumption is not rational, it is not the kind of hypothesis on which science builds. If, then, we put prayer simply on the plane of what we familiarly call natural phenomena it will appear as something entirely rational, be found to rest upon a secure philosophical basis.

Turning to the Bible, it assumes and teaches from

beginning to end that prayer is of a divine order. God not only enjoins men everywhere to pray, but promises ineffable blessings in answer to prayer. In preceding pages the Fatherhood of God has been emphasized. If God stands in any relation as the Father of the human soul, then prayer to God from this child, and the Father's answer to this prayer, is not only a logical, but an inevitable and necessary, fact of the relationship. It is baldly assumed by many that it is a function beneath God's greatness that he should give heed and answer to the cry that comes up to him from a human heart. But if it be a fact that God is the Creator and Father of the human spirit, then there would seem no function more worthy of God than that he should give answer to the yearning cry of his child. There is no relation in which the thought of God is so captivating as that in which he reveals himself as a Father.

It is a condition of Christian prayer that it shall be addressed to the Father in the name of his Son. God's supreme purpose with this human world centers in the work and mission of Jesus Christ. God as immanent in the world is subordinating all the long movements of history to the final triumph of Christ's kingdom among men. The forces that make for the success of this kingdom have their full scope for action in what is called, by workers in the laboratory, "the order of nature," really the ordering of God. In the processes of Christ's kingdom prayer as a factor is greatly emphasized in New Testament teaching. Christ not only taught his disciples to pray, but himself amid mountain solitudes spent whole nights in prayer.

The purpose of prayer is manifold. It is a means

by which the soul comes into personal communion with God by wishing itself toward him. The soul in its healthier moods hungers for God, and prayer is the wings on which it lifts itself to the Divine Presence. But as the soul rises Godward on the wings of prayer it carries in itself the conditions which permit God's incoming into its own life. Prayer is a condition of harmonizing the human will with the divine will. The very soul of the prayer which Jesus taught his disciples is the petition which calls for the doing of God's perfect will on earth, the doing of that will in the very heart of the worshiper himself. And when the will of God is realized in the heart of the worshiper, then the man becomes a new moral and causal force in the kingdom itself. His individual life is one added factor among the makers of the kingdom. To such a man the promise is that he shall ask what he will and it shall be done unto him. This is far from the assumption that prayer is ordained to secure to men such divine action as will serve merely human and selfish purposes. True Christian prayer is always, at its very core, subordinate to the divine will. But to such prayer the greatest promises are given. The soul that lives in the habitual mood of such prayer finds itself not only divinely strengthened for all work, but wondrously sustained and supported in all of life's trials and burdens. And only God can say how far the influence of such prayer may go in influencing the souls of men and the destinies of the kingdom. Christian history is rich in the data of answered prayer. God, who works in all realms, is securing the right of way for the kingdom of his Son. He is under pledge to use his almighty power to answer

prayer offered in the name and in the spirit of Jesus Christ. Prayer is a divine telepathy by which the saintly soul may touch the very ends of the earth. The great Laureate was seer-like when he wrote:

> "More things are wrought by prayer
> Than this world dreams of. Wherefore let thy voice
> Rise like a fountain for me night and day.
> For what are men better than sheep or goats
> That nourish a blind life within the brain,
> If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
> Both for themselves and those who call them friend?
> For so the whole round earth is every way
> Bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

There is a standpoint, however, from which no informed person can fail to appreciate difficulties, some of them enormous, which confront minds of a purely materialistic habit in the way of accepting both miracles and prayer. The very assumption of miracle calls for Providence—indeed, a miracle itself is a "special" providence. The same thought inheres in the very concept of prayer. In the vast measurements of the material universe which science now commands, in the very conceptions which our knowledge of nature now forces upon our intelligence, there is much which makes the old-fashioned and simple faith in Providence difficult of acceptance. Science, by infallible processes and by heaven-searching implements, has, in very recent times, brought to our view a vast universe, the near borders of which the human imagination, in its wildest flight, had never before touched.

When it was well-nigh universally believed that the earth which we inhabit was the principal and central orb in the heavens, and that the sun, moon, and stars all paid it the homage due a sovereign, and when man

—and rightfully so—was looked upon as the one lordly citizen of the world, then it was easy to believe that the God of the heavens had ordained this earth as the chief object of his care, and that to the human race was given the first concern of his brooding providence. But this conception of the earth has not only been entirely displaced, it is proven a conception worthy only of most infantile thought. The earth is now known to be only one of the minor members of a family of planets which move in their various orbits around a central sun. What we now know as the solar system is vast beyond any previous dream of the human brain. Our earth moves in an orbit of approximately about 93,000,000 miles away from the sun, but Neptune, lying on the outermost borders of the system, moves in an orbit distant from the sun 2,760,000,000 miles. The earth makes the circle of its orbit once in every year. Neptune, moving at the rate of 200 miles per minute, requires 164 years to make the circuit of the solar system. We gain some impression of vastness if we reflect that in the sphere of the sun there is room to store away a million worlds such as that on which we dwell.

By a daring flight of human ingenuity, the generalization has been reached that all the worlds of this system, including the sun itself, are composed of the same substances, and are subject to the same laws of formation and decay. And this conclusion is no mere speculation. It has been demonstrated by infallible processes which have yielded the most indubitable proofs. The solar spectrum not only shows the common material kinship of all the worlds in our solar system, but it reports

the same substances, the same relationships, for the most distant worlds in space. The irresistible conclusion is that the material universe, as far as it can be traced, is of one character; that its infinite worlds are but conglomerates of the same substances of which our earth itself is composed. It would thus appear that there is a common kinship of matter in all worlds, and that everywhere throughout the universe the same processes of evolution and of decay are indefinitely repeating themselves. The significant inference from this is that all worlds in space are not only held in the grasp of a common power, but that back of them all, producing the same materials, and working to identical ends, there has wrought the same infinite, inscrutable Cause.

If now for a little we confine our thought to the solar system alone, we can but see that physically, as compared with earlier beliefs, modern knowledge has immeasurably reduced the relative importance of the earth. In the ocean spaces of this system the earth is but an insignificant island. Measured from this standpoint, it is manifestly not so easy as formerly to give credence to the assumption that either the earth or man can hold the supreme place in any conceivable order of Providence.

But our solar system, including the sun and its entire family of planets, with all its seeming—its real—vastness, is now known to be but an insignificant unit in an infinite series of other stellar systems. The diameter of the solar system is 5,520,000,000 miles, a practically uncountable number. It would take an express train moving incessantly and in a straight line at the rate of sixty miles an hour more than 10,500 years to move from border to border of this system. This distance,

minor as it is in the stellar scale, practically baffles human conception. It is estimated that the first of the fixed stars, the nearest neighbor sun to our own, lies removed at a distance of not less than 25,575,000,000,000 miles. We get some suggestion of the meaning of this distance when we remember that light, traveling at the amazing rate of more than 600,000,000 miles an hour, will require nearly four and a quarter years to cross the void that lies between Alpha Centauri and our sun. To conceive adequately the meaning of this distance is impossible to the human mind. But as yet we are upon the near borders of an unknown infinite. Professor Simon Newcomb, one of the most illustrious of American astronomers, has estimated that lying in unmeasured space, at relative distances from each other as great—and often vastly greater—as that of our sun from the nearest fixed star, there are at least 125,000,000 suns, all of them visible to us by telescopic or photographic means. If this were all, it would mean according to most reliable estimates a stellar universe of such dimensions as to require 3,300 years for the flight of light from one of its boundaries to the other. But there is no reason to conclude that, instead of 125,000,000, there may not be a thousand millions of suns in space. In the dream of Richter, when the human spirit, overwhelmed in wonder, is speeding past suns and systems on the wings of light, to the astonished inquiry of the spirit the angel guide is made to say: "To the universe there is no beginning, and, lo! there is no end."

A fact to note is that some of the stars that have already come within the astronomer's ken are, in their dimensions, of most amazing proportions. It is estimated

that at the lowest limit Canopus is more than a million times the size of our sun, and the indications are that Canopus itself is but a dwarf in comparison with other suns that shed their light from the far-off immensities. If, as is estimated, Argo is located from us at a distance of 30,000 light-years (light moving in a single year 5,353,561,872,000 miles), then this star may be a million times larger than Canopus itself. And all this proves that physically, at least, our solar system is but an insignificant member of the stellar universe. It is like an insect in a countless swarm of systems.

If now, in addition to all, we reflect that aside from our earth there are doubtless millions of inhabited worlds in space, we only address to the imagination wonder on wonder, problems of the vastest order, problems so great as to defy solution by the human intellect.[1] The view which science furnishes of the steady march of world evolution and decay makes absurd the assumption that our earth is the only inhabited world. The same process which has prepared this earth for human habitation has wrought and ripened millions of other worlds for a like result. In view of what is now known of universal world processes, it does not seem to require a great stretch of imagination to believe that the universe, aside from our world, is at present actually inhabited by innumerable families of intellectual and moral life. The human race holds no monopoly in either intellectual or

[1] I am quite aware of the reasoning of the great naturalist, Alfred Russel Wallace, from which he reaches the conclusion that the earth is the only inhabited planet in our solar system, and how he undertakes to apply the same reasoning to worlds of the stellar systems. I would not for a moment think of asserting my opinion in such a matter as against so high an authority. Nor do I need to, for, as is well known, many of the first authorities in astronomical science do not share this view of Mr. Wallace.

moral faculties. At best, it is but a humble colony in the infinite domain of inhabited worlds. The opportunities for the attainment of all physical sciences, for historical study, for everything that can add to knowledge, are just as perfect in innumerable other worlds as in our own. The speculations of philosophy and the deep questions of theology may be conceived to be just as rife in thousands of other worlds as they have ever been in this.

While it may be assumed that many world-races are inferior in their present development to our human race, it may with equal probability be assumed that many other races are greatly superior. In race evolution some worlds may be far behind, while others are greatly in advance of, this world. It is not incredible that some worlds in the arts and in the sciences, in the practical appliances of being, in the perfection of their industrial and social organisms, in their intellectual and moral advancement, have already reached a development the best forecasts of which have as yet entered but dimly into our most prophetic thought.

If now it should be suggested that all this is but a speculation, it may still be replied that what we know of the physical universe, of its conditions and laws of development, furnishes the most ample basis on which to build such a speculation, and to lend to it features of greatest probability.

To return specifically to the thought with which we entered this discussion, it is easy to see, with such measurements and conceptions of the universe before us, how to the naturalistic mind the thought of a Providence that presides over the destiny of an individual life,

or even of the entire human race itself, may seem exceedingly improbable, if not even absurd.

As compared with the existence of a universe, the physical life of the strongest man is as ephemeral as that of an insect; in the illimitable spaces, the individual is as insignificant as an atom of moisture in an infinite cloud-bank; and among multi-myriad minds the influence of the mightiest man is as a breath which instantly becomes lost and colorless in measureless atmospheres. Indeed, it may most naturally be asked, what is man, that the Power which presides over an infinite universe should be mindful of him, or the son of man, that he should be visited?

We may, of course, remember that, as great as is the universe in its spatial magnitudes, it is not less wonderful in its microscopic life. Under our very feet are families of life so minute as to be absolutely undiscoverable to us except by instrumental aid, and yet whose organisms are of the most perfect mechanism. All this can only serve to multiply the wonders of existence upon our thought. There seems some power which as certainly creates and perpetuates this infinite underworld of life as that which maintains the stellar systems. But this fact does not, perhaps, much relieve the natural skepticism concerning the possible relations of Providence to human life. Man himself in relation to the universe is microscopic. He is, physically measured, no more than a mote floating in solar spaces. Concerning the relations of Divine Providence to our human world, no one certainly can wonder at the incredulity of the scientific mind which puts the emphasis of its investigation upon the physical side of the universe.

In fairness, recognition should perhaps be given to another class of facts which have always more or less challenged intelligent minds as to the fact and moral purposes of a Divine Providence in relation to human life. These facts are represented by the dwarfed morality, the immorality, the selfishness, the cruelty, the conscienceless lust, the barbaric injustice, which have so largely prevailed in human history. I quote from a recent writer a pregnant paragraph which well illustrates how that which has been called history most largely represents but a spectacle of "carnage and rapacity": "Whole armies of men flung into a field to butcher each other for an envied province or an imagined slight; arson and thievery, pillage and atrocious crimes applauded under the sounding name of conquest; great cities sacked, the populations sold in degrading slavery, the women to shameful lives; until a scant century ago, the lower classes lost in barbarism and ignorance, a prey to the wildest superstitions; the upper class, a privileged few, despising work, despoiling the poor, licensed to pleasure, and often sunk in the grossest bestiality; human beings tossed to lions to glut the savage lusts of a Nero; heroes fed to slow fires for the preservation of the religion of God; low intrigues and court scandal, and women parading their harlotry because they are the prostitutes of an individual called king."[1]

Add to such a picture the fact of the meager intellectual and moral development, of the superstitious, the unmoral, the unspiritual, and the unaspiring character of the great majorities of men now living upon

[1] Carl Snyder, The World Machine.

the earth, and these facts do not seem to furnish vivid proof that this is a world with which an omnipotent and holy God is dealing for the purpose of transforming it into a spiritual and holy kingdom for his own glory. In the light of cold history the vast majorities of the myriads of men who have lived upon the earth, intellectually and morally measured, seem like so much human spawn which the stream of time has cast upon the banks only that it may perish and be forgotten.

I do not think I fail to appreciate some, at least, of the intellectual difficulties which have made it well-nigh impossible for many minds to believe in, to receive inspiration, strength, and support from a trust in a Divine Providence that presides over the destinies of the world and the interests of human life.

I must now, however, record the conviction that all material measurements of man's worth and destiny, such as would put a slighting estimate upon his values because of his apparent insignificance in the physical universe, or which would denude him of divine possibilities because of his poor present intellectual and moral development, are both provincial as processes of reasoning and utterly inconclusive.

The larger universe is not the material, but the spiritual. If a final philosophy shall sustain the fact of a material universe at all, this universe will be found to be only a vast theater in which God has chosen to enact in part—but only in part—the divine drama of eternity. The human mind that is able to take so well-nigh infinite measurements of the physical universe has capacity, if rightly developed and directed, of conceiving a still larger and a vastly more inspiring view of the God of

the universe himself. God and his moral children are the supreme facts of the immensities and the eternities. The reason which in its processes fails to give first place to these facts may be of a stalwart order, may yield results of great value, but it is not sun-crowned, it does not keep company with the supreme inspirations.

It is impossible for us to think of inert and soulless matter as belonging to the same class, or as having equal values, with thinking mind. The vastness of suns and systems may seem overwhelming, but this seeming is purely a sensation of thought. The suns have no consciousness of themselves, no sense of their relationships. They are each in a sense monarchs of mighty empire, but they have no knowledge of their own rule, no affection for their subjects, no power to change their own movements or the methods under which they exist. The science of astronomy now places at our command a vast knowledge of the heavens, but this knowledge is shared not in the slightest by the brightest sun that burns. Not by a single conscious thought has the entire physical universe ever entered into partnership with man's efforts to master its laws and to survey its wonders. Its innumerable glories would have absolutely no significance did they not appeal to a thinking soul. Speaking of astronomy, its every spoken truth represents an achievement of the human mind. Our present vast knowledge of the stellar universe, in its every syllable, is the gift of intrepid minds who have commanded for themselves ingenious methods of invading the heavens, and who have brought back to us the laws and the mysteries of the distant worlds. And so it comes to be clearly seen that mind

alone is great. This mite of a being which we call man annexes the material universe to the dominion of his thought. He forces the worlds to surrender to him their laws and to uncover their mysteries to his vision, and thus he proves his infinite superiority to them all.

The testimony of astronomy to man's greatness is the testimony of all science to the same fact. The history of science is but a history of the triumphal march of the human mind into every realm of nature in its imperious search for truth. That which we call nature is like a printed book, its every page filled with high values of truth. But nature itself has no more consciousness of the wealth which it carries than has the printed page of the thought-impressions which itself bears. It is man's inquisitorial vision alone which detects and translates the divine original. I can but believe that the significance of this fact is neither to be ignored nor neutralized. The very fact that nature yields to man his sciences, that she responds to his seeking mind in terms of intelligence, is proof of two things: first, that nature, throughout her realms, shows a plan, that she bears the impress of a formative, a creative, intelligence; and, second, that man, by his demonstrated ability to translate nature into science, shows his intellectual kinship with the great Originator.

Science has no right to be atheistic. It deals only with processes. It knows nothing about origins. The great, the sufficient, back-lying Cause of all things utterly eludes its analysis. Hume admitted that all we know about cause is reiterated sequence, the constant succession of events. All the growth of thought since his day—and this growth has been very great—has yielded no

better answer. But this answer furnishes absolutely no explanation of origins, of original cause. Tracing the sequence of events, we can diagram the growth and decay of worlds. From the data thus furnished it seems a sure prediction that our planet, now teeming with life, will at some time become lifeless, naked, cold, a burnt-out cinder. Such would seem physically to be the ultimate fate of all life-supporting orbs of the present. This is a conclusion of science concerning physical worlds. But it does not follow that this law necessarily applies to the moral and spiritual universe. As mind and spirit transcend matter, so for the testing of mind and spirit the law of physical sequence may furnish not even a clue. Science, wonderful and rich as are its fruits, has its fixed metes and bounds beyond which it cannot go. To state it simply, the time was when no life, much less human life, existed upon this globe. Of the origin of life science is unable to give any account. If the theory should be accepted that the germs of the first life of earth drifted here from other worlds, this would furnish no explanation of life's origin. It would simply push the problem farther back in time. How came the germs of life to exist in other worlds? And, as science is utterly ignorant of origins, of original cause, so it is equally incompetent to pronounce upon spiritual destinies.

I cannot resist the inference that most men exclusively employed in physical pursuits fail to give the kind of direct emphasis to the moral and spiritual order which the very nature of things asserts for this order. Certainly there is a large company of discerning minds, minds of the first class, who are impressed that thought

is something quite distinct from matter, and that moral character, both in its values and its destinies, is something which infinitely transcends material things. It seems equally certain that, to the sanest thought of our times, materialism fails utterly to furnish an adequate philosophy of the world. A spiritual philosophy, a moral order of the universe, which asserts that enthroned above all is a sovereign Mind, a Mind that controls all things in the ultimate interests of righteousness—this is the philosophy most securely seated in the best thought of the present. And this is a philosophy which cannot be displaced by the largest findings of science. The best thought of the race has doubtless been quite provincial. We have been accustomed to think of this human race as a chief object and end of concern in the moral universe. But suppose there are millions of other worlds in space, as indeed seems probable, each of which is inhabited by a race of moral intelligence. In addition, suppose there are still millions of other worlds, as also seems probable, now in preparation for future habitation. With such thoughts before us, we have at least a suggestion that the physical universe, immense, immeasurable as it is, is not built on too large a scale to subserve the ends of the moral, of that imperishable, universe for which all things else were made.

I am not unmindful that these suggestions would seem to call for great remodeling and extension of our conceptions of Providence. The Providence of the infinite God and Sovereign of the moral universe, so far from being confined in its concern or exercise to this human world, is so great and so far-reaching as to have

equal application in all moral realms, however far these may extend. Our mundane theology, teaching of necessity its human lessons, of necessity limited to human thinking and to human applications, is not large enough for the God of the universe, not large enough for application in all moral worlds. Outside of this human realm there are innumerable moral families beyond our ken, but with which we may have a real kinship. The hypothesis of the immensities seems to call for nothing less than this. The physical universe is practically infinite. If it is presided over by an omnipotent Creator, the One whom we worship as an infinite Father, then a rational interpretation of the universe itself would seem to call for an infinite colonization throughout the vast domain of God's moral children. We probably in our theology, in our moral philosophy, are most provincial. In these departments of thought we have quite likely made the same mistake as the Ptolemaic astronomy. We are geocentric, while really the moral universe, as the physical, not only envelops us, but lifts itself into innumerable worlds beyond us. This conception suggests something, at least, that seems worthy of an infinite God and Father regnant in an infinite universe.

I am quite aware that suggestions like these raise questions without number, questions many of which no mortal thought at present can answer. I am equally impressed that the problems of existence, the philosophy of Providence, are too deep and too vast for solution by the human mind. But this is only to state in another form the emotions of Saint Paul when, overwhelmed with the thought of God, he was forced to exclaim, "How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways

past finding out!" I can claim no equality to framing a philosophy adequate to the suggestions herewith submitted. I can only feel that the territory of material atheism can furnish no fitting home for the human spirit. Its logic not only makes life meaningless, it converts it into an enormous cheat. It smothers in an atmosphere of negation and despair all that is best in human hopes, all that is loftiest and most prophetic in the highest inspirations of the soul. In presence of the supreme problems of being the proper attitude of the human mind is that of profoundest humility.

I believe in God, the Father Almighty. I believe in the everlasting persistence and supremacy of the moral universe. I believe that man is God's immortal child. The material heavens and earth may wax old and pass away. Suns and systems may cease; but the soul of man will continue. Man, the undying offspring of God, was made to be a citizen of imperishable realms. The Infinite alone marks the limits of human possibility. The spiritual man, as God's child, will mature ever into the divine likeness and perfections. His growth will be everlasting. The resources of all infinities will ultimately, at some point, sometime, come into his possession. Upon his children the Infinite Father will evermore bestow his wealth, and with their endless growth they shall evermore receive increasing revelations of his exhaustless glories.

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